

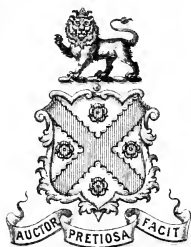
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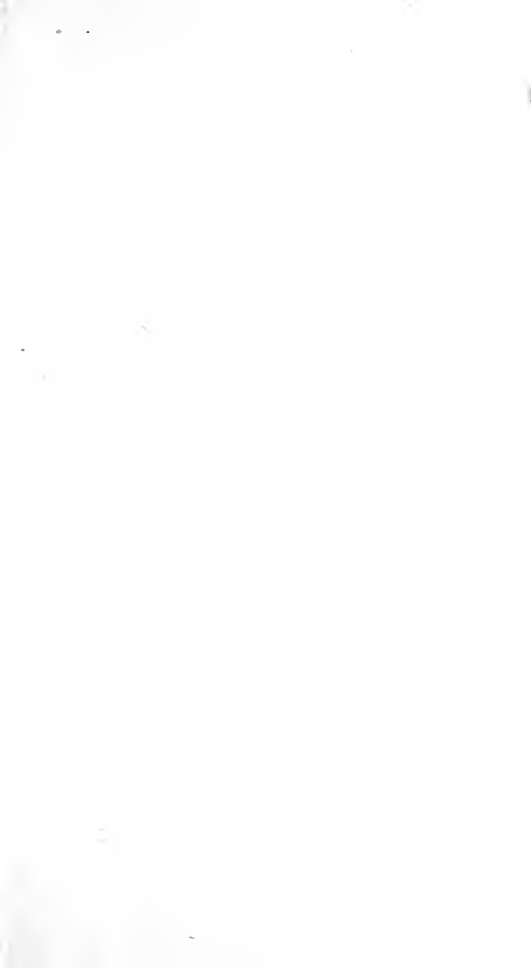


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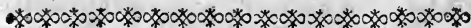
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T H E

BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF

ISAAC NEWTON.

 SIR ISAAC NEWTON was descended of an antient family, which had its origin at Newton, in Lancashire; but removing thence, was afterwards seated at Westby, in Lincolnshire; and, about the year 1730, becoming possessed of the manor of Woolstrop, in the same county, fixed its residence upon that demesne. Here this prodigy of mathematical learning was born, upon Christmas-day, in 1642.

His father dying, left him lord of that manor while he was yet a child; and a few years after, his mother engaged in a second marriage;

riage: however, being a woman of good sense, and of an antient family herself of the name of Ascough, she did not neglect to take a becoming care of her son's education; and, at twelve years of age, put him to the free-school, at Grantham, in the same county. It was her design not to breed him a scholar; therefore, after he had been at school some years, he was taken home, that (being deprived, as he was, of his father) he might betimes get an insight into his own affairs, and be able the sooner to manage them himself. But, upon trial, the youth shewed so little disposition to turn his thoughts that way, and at the same time stuck so close to his book, that his mother concluded it best to let him pursue the bent of his own inclinations. For that purpose she sent him back to Grantham; whence, at eighteen years of age, he removed to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Trinity-college, in the year 1660.

The study of the mathematics had been introduced into the university in the beginning of this century. From that period, the elements of geometry and algebra became generally one branch of a tutor's lectures to his pupils; but particularly Mr. Newton, at his admission, found Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Barrow, the most eminent mathematician of the time, fellow of his college. Mr. Lucas also dying shortly after, left, by his will, the appointment for founding his mathematical lecture;

ture; which was settled in 1663, and Mr. Barrow chosen the first professor.

Our author, therefore, by thus turning his thoughts to the mathematics, seems to have done no more than fall in, as well with his own particular situation, as with the general taste of that time; but then it is universally confessed, he did it with a genius that was superior to all that ever went before him in any time, Achimedes only excepted.

For a beginning, he took up Euclid's Elements, he run his eye over the book, and at sight was master of every proposition in it. This done, the youthful vigour of his understanding would not suffer him to stay and sit down, in order to contemplate the singular excellence in that author's elegant manner of demonstrating, whereby the whole *series and* connection of the truths advanced is continually kept in view up to their first principles.

This neglect, however, he was sensible of in his riper age; but his ingenuity in confessing an error, which otherwise no body could have surmised, and that too after he was grown equally full of years and honour, by setting out in another way, was, in him, only a slender instance of a most amiable simplicity of disposition.

It was not till the latter part of his life, that Dr. Pemberton became known to him, and then,

“ He spoke, even with regret, of this *tan-* take at the beginning of his mathematical

studies, in applying himself to the works of DesCartes and other algebraical writers, before he had considered the Elements of Euclid with that attention which so excellent a writer deserves."

After all, if this was a fault in him, it was a fault that actually gave birth to all those vast improvements which he afterwards made in these sciences.

The truth is, when he came to the college, Des Cartes was all the vogue. That eminent mathematician and philosopher had greatly extended the bounds of algebra, in the way of expressing geometrical lines by algebraical equations, and thereby introduced a new method of treating geometry.

Our author struck into this new analytical road, and presently saw to the end of the farthest advances made by Des Cartes; but having sounded the depth of that author's understanding, without feeling the extensive power of his own, he proceeded to read those pieces of Dr. Wallis which were then printed, and particularly his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*. Here our author first found that matter which set his boundless invention to work.

In this ingenious performance, the celebrated author had carried the mensuration of curve-lined figures to a pitch which had not as yet been exceeded. Amongst others, he had squared, or given the areas of a series of
po. curves

curves expressed in the way of Des Cartes, by algebraic equations, proceeding in a certain geometrical progression; whereby it easily appeared, as he shews, that, if, between each of these areas another could be found, so that the terms of the aggregate series, after such interpolation, should be to each other, continually in the same scale of proportion; then the first of the interpolated areas would give the quadrature of the circle. But, how to perform this interpolation, was, to him, an insuperable difficulty; here, therefore, he was forced to put a stop to his researches at this period.

In the winter, between the years 1664 and 1665, Mr. Newton took up the subject, and, tho' scarcely twenty-two years old, presently passed the bounds that nature had set to his great præcursor; and, from this beginning, by an amazing sagacity, joined to the most intense application, carried the doctrine of infinite series, in less than two years time, almost to perfection. But this could be completed only by the help of the method of fluxions, which was invented by him, in the spring of the year 1665; and took its rise from a circumstance not much unlike that which gave birth to the former.

Mr. Fermat had, about the year 1630, hit upon a way of determining the Maxima and Minima, by a method of the same kind with that of fluxions; he had likewise drawn tangents to curves, in some of the less difficult

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cases. An instance of this method is given by Andrew à Schooten, in his Commentary on Des Cartes's Geometry, printed in 1649.

Mr. Newton reading that author, in 1663, took notice of this method, and remarked, that it was confined to simple rational quantities only. Therefore, having now, by pursuing the method of interpolation, found out his famous binomial theorem, and made it general, by the happy thought of using indefinite indices, or exponents of powers; he observed, the rule for drawing tangents, which he had seen in Schooten, thereby became universal, and might be extended, by this means, to quantities involved either in fractions or surds, and with the same ease too, as to rational powers or roots.

By this means, the operations of multiplication, division, and extraction of roots, were reduced to one common way of considering them; whence the bounds of analysis were much extended, and a foundation laid for its becoming universal.

After this, he presently perceived the way of applying the same rule to find the degree of curvature in curves at any given point; and, being now sensible, that this rule, by the help of his indefinite indices, would serve for finding the proportion of indeterminate quantities of any kind, he thought of laying a foundation suitable to the large extent of it. To this end, he considered, that mathematical quantity might, very agreeably to nature, and
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even daily experience, be conceived as generated by local motion, either uniform or continually accelerated; and that either in one unvarying proportion, or changing in any given rule of variation.

To reduce so general a principle into a proper form for calculation, he observes, first of all, That, as hereby quantities became greater or less, according to the greater or lesser velocities of the motion with which they were generated, hence the whole business consisted in determining the proportion of these velocities. But the consideration of different degrees of velocity necessarily involved that of time, and absolutely depended upon it. Therefore he compared the motions of all other quantities with that of time; and, from the flowing of time, and the moments thereof, he gave the name of flowing quantities to all quantities which encrease in time; and that of fluxions to the velocities of their increase; and that of moments to their parts generated in moments of time.

Observing then, that time flowed uniformly, he represented it by some other quantity, which was considered as flowing uniformly (for instance, in determining the areas of curved-lined figures, he represented it generally by equal parts of the abscissa, and its fluxion by an unit), and considering the moments of time, or of its exponent, as equal to one another, such moments he commonly represented by the letter *o* drawn into an unit.

The other flowing quantities he represented by the ordinate, in computing the quadrature of curves, or, generally, by the final letters of the alphabet, x, y, z ; their fluxions by the same letters in a different form, or else distinguished by points over them, $\dot{x}, \dot{y}, \dot{z}$, &c. and their moments he expressed by their fluxions, drawn into a moment of time \dot{x}_o : but did not confine his method to the use of these, or any particular symbols of fluxions.

Every thing being thus prepared, he reduced the whole inquiry to this general problem. "From a given equation, involving any number whatever of fluents, to find the fluxions, and vice versa."

This problem he immediately applied to all the subjects which the mathematicians of that time were busied in searching into; and pushing through every difficulty as it arose, he presently brought it to that perfection, especially in the quadrature of curves, the subject which first set him to work, that, in any proposed equation whatever, expressing the nature of a curve, he could tell, whether such curve were possible to be squared or no; and then, if possible, could actually give the square, either in finite terms, (that is, accurately, if that could be done) or else, by continual approximation in an infinite series; and this in less than a quarter of an hour.

In all these enquiries he knew not what it was to be repulsed, his sagacity always carrying him through every opposing difficulty up
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to the end which he aimed at, rested within those limits only, which he himself thought proper to put to such kind of speculations. But he had now laid in a sufficient stock of these materials, which he knew how to enlarge too if there should be occasion for it; and he could not think of throwing away his time upon meer abstracted speculations, how entertaining soever they might be. Accordingly, he now turned his thoughts to a subject of more immediate use.

Des Cartes, in his *Dioptrics*, the best of his performances in philosophy, taking up with the commonly received opinion, that light was homogeneous; had, upon this principle, first discovered the laws of refraction, and demonstrated, that the perfecting of telescopes depended on finding out the way of making the glasses in elliptic, parabolic, or hyperbolic figures.

The best mathematical wits were now at work upon this subject; particularly Mr. (afterwards Sir Christopher) Wren had, about this time, made considerable advances towards compleating this so useful an invention, as it was then thought to be.

Mr. Newton, therefore, no sooner got back to the college, than he applied himself, in the year 1666, to the grinding of optic glasses of other figures than spherical, having no distrust as yet of the homogeneous nature of light, but not hitting presently upon any thing in this attempt which succeeded to his mind, he pro-

cured a glass prism, in order to try the celebrated phænomena of colours, not long before discovered by Grimaldi.

He was much pleased at first with viewing the vivid brightness of the colours produced by this experiment; but, after a while, applying himself to consider them in a philosophical way, with that circumspection which was natural to him, he became immediately surprized to see them in an oblong form; which, according to the received rule of refractions—ought to have been circular: yet, at first, he thought the irregularity might possibly be no more than accidental; but this was a question, he could not leave without further satisfaction: he therefore presently invented an infallible method of deciding it; and this produced his *New Theory of Light and Colours*.

However, the theory alone, unexpected and surprising as the discovery was, did not satisfy him; he rather considered the proper use that might be made for improving telescopes: which was his first design.

To this end, having now discovered light not to be homogeneous, but an heterogeneous mixture of differently refrangible rays, he computed the errors arising from this different refrangibility, and finding them to exceed some hundreds of times those occasioned by the circular figure of the glasses, he laid aside his glass works, and took reflections into consideration.

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He now understood, that optical instruments might be brought to any degree of perfection imaginable, provided a reflecting substance could be found, which would polish as finely as glass, and reflect as much light as glass transmits, and the art of giving it a parabolic figure be also obtained. But these seemed to him very great difficulties; nay, he almost thought them insuperable, when he farther considered, that every irregularity in a reflecting superficies, makes the rays stray five or six times more from their due course, than the like irregularities in a refracting one.

Amidst these thoughts, he was forced from Cambridge by the plague; and it was more than two years before he made any farther progress therein. However, he was far from passing away the hours in a negligence of thought in the country; on the contrary, it was here, at this time, that he first started the hint that gave rise to the system of the world; which is the main subject of his *Principia*.

The consideration of accelerated motion in the method of fluxions above-mentioned, which he was still improving, unavoidably led his thoughts to the subject of gravity, the effect of which is an instance of that motion in nature. And now, as he sat in a garden alone in the country, he very naturally fell into some reflections on the power of this principle; That, as this power is not found sensibly diminished at the remotest distance from the centre of the earth to which we can rise, neither

at the tops of the loftiest buildings, nor on the summits of the highest mountains, it appeared to him reasonable to conclude, that this power must extend much farther than was usually thought. Why not as high as the moon? said he to himself; and, if so, her motion must be influenced by it; perhaps she is retained in her orbit thereby: however, tho' the power of gravity is not sensibly weakened in the little change of distance at which we can place ourselves from the centre of the earth; yet it is very possible, that, as high as the moon, this power may differ much in strength from what it is here.

To make an estimate what might be the degree of this diminution, he considered with himself, that, if the moon be retained in her orbit by the force of gravity, no doubt the primary planets are carried round the sun by the like power; and, by comparing the periods of the several planets with their distances from the sun, he found, that, if any power like gravity held them in their courses, its strength must decrease in the duplicate proportion of the increase of distance.

This he concluded, by supposing them to move in perfect circles concentric to the sun, from which the orbits of the greatest part of them do not much differ. Supposing therefore the power of gravity, when extended to the moon to decrease in the same manner, he computed whether that force would be sufficient to keep the moon in her orbit.

In this computation, being absent from books, he took the common estimate, in use among geographers and our seamen before Norwood had measured the earth, that sixty English miles complete one degree of latitude; but, as this is a very faulty supposition, each degree containing about sixty-nine English miles and an half, his computation upon it did not make the power of gravity, decreasing in a duplicate proportion to the distance, answerable to the power which retained the moon in her orbit; whence he concluded that some other cause must at least join with the action of the power of gravity on the moon. For this reason, he laid aside, for that time, any farther thoughts upon the matter.

An easiness so resigned, as to give up a favourite opinion, founded upon the best astronomical observations of the whole planetary system, is an illustrious proof of a temper exactly fitted for philosophical enquiries.

Mr. Voltaire relates it, as an anecdote of particular use in the history of the human mind; as it shews, at once, both how great an exactness is necessary in these sciences, and likewise how disinterested Mr. Newton was in his search after truth.

It is indeed a little surprising, that he should not then be acquainted with Mr. Norwood's Mensuration, which was made in 1635; and seems to be more so still, that he did not inform himself, when he returned to Cambridge, which

which he did shortly after ; and, in the following year, 1667, was chosen fellow of his college, and took the degree of master of arts the same year, having proceeded bachelor of arts three years before. But at this time he apparently thought it not possible, that the old reckoning could be so grossly wide of the truth as it really is ; and he was remarkably clear of that vanity, which in other eminent inventors is useful, in making them forward to push the exercise of their inventive faculty. In reality, his thoughts were now engaged upon his newly-projected telescope by reflection ; which, being a very useful invention, he was most desirous to complete : and, in 1668, having considered what Mr. James Gregory proposed in his *Optica Promota*, concerning such a telescope, with a hole in the midst of the object-metal to transmit the light to an eye-glass placed behind it, he thought the disadvantages would be so great, that he resolved, before he put any thing into practice, to alter Mr. Gregory's design, and place the eye-glass at the side of the tube, rather than in the middle ; he then made a small instrument, with an object-metal spherically concave : but this was only a rude essay, the chief defect lay in wanting a good polish for the metal. This therefore he set himself to find out, when Dr. Barrow resigning the mathematical chair at Cambridge to him, on the eighth of November, in the year 1669, the business of that professorship interrupted

rupted his attention to the telescope for a while.

In the mean time, an unexpected occasion drew from our author a discovery of the vast improvements he had made in geometry by the help of his new analysis.

Lord-viscount Brouncker, the year before, had published a quadrature of the hyperbola in an infinite series; which, by the help of Dr. Wallis's division, was soon after demonstrated by Mr. Nicholas Mercator, in his *Logarithmotechnica*, in 1668.

This being the first appearance of a series of this sort, drawn from the particular nature of the curve expressed in an abstracted algebraical equation, and that in a manner very new, the book presently came into the hands of Dr. Barrow, then at Trinity-college; who having, upon another occasion, been informed some time before by Mr. Newton, that he had a general method of drawing tangents, communicated this invention of Morcator's to that fellow-collegian: upon sight of which, our author brought him those papers of his own, that contained his *Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*.

The doctor perusing it, stood amazed at the prodigious performance, and immediately acquainted his friend Mr. Collins with it; at whose request he afterwards obtained leave of Mr. Newton to send him the papers. Mr. Collins taking a copy before he returned the treasure,

treasure, thence got the means of dispersing other transcripts to all the most eminent of his mathematical acquaintance. But, notwithstanding this, it was not till many years afterwards, that the full extent to which our author had carried the invention came to be well understood.

Mr. Fontenelle observes, that it was natural to expect, that Mr. Newton, upon seeing Mercator's book, would have been forward to open his treasure, and thereby secure to himself the glory of being the first discoverer. But this was not his way of thinking; on the contrary, we know, from his own words, that he thought Mercator had entirely discovered his secret; or that others would, before he was of a proper age for writing to the public. The empty name of barely doing what no body else could do, he looked upon as a child's bauble; his views were much higher, and more noble; he thought to build his fame upon a more substantial foundation.

These speculative inventions, therefore, however ingenious, were kept by him, as necessary tools and implements in his researches into the works of nature; there he knew they would be of use to him, and he knew too how to use them there to advantage; and in these views only it was, that he set any particular value upon them. Nay, he was now actually making this use of them, in discovering the properties and unravelling the subtle actions of light.

As his thoughts had been for some time chiefly employed upon optics, he made his discoveries in that science the subject of his lectures, for the three first years after he was appointed mathematical professor.

He had not finished these lectures, when he was chosen fellow of the royal society, in January, 1671-2; and, having now brought his 'Theory of Light and Colours to a great degree of Perfection, he communicated it to that society, first to have their judgment upon it, and it was afterwards published in their Transactions of February nineteen, 1672.

The reason of this conduct is fully declared, in the following letter of his to Mr. Oldenburg.

Trinity-college. Feb, 10, 1671-2.

“ S I R,

“ I T was an esteem of the royal society for most candid and able judges in philosophical matters, encouraged me to present them with that Discourse of Light and Colours, which since they have so favourably accepted of, I do earnestly desire you to return them my cordial thanks. I before thought it a great favour to be made a member of that honourable body; but I am now more sensible of the advantage. For, believe me, Sir, I do not only esteem it a duty to concur with them in the promotion of real knowledge, but a great priviledge, that, in-
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stead of exposing discourses to a prejudiced and censorious multitude (by which means many truths have been baffled and lost) I may with freedom apply myself to so judicious and impartial an assembly.

As to the printing of that letter, I am satisfied with their judgment, or else I should have thought it too strait and narrow for public view. I designed it only to those who know how to improve upon hints of things; and therefore to shun tediousness, omitted many such remarks and experiments as might be collected by considering the assigned laws of refractions; some of which, I believe, with the generality of men, would yet be almost as taking as any I described. But yet, since the royal society have thought it fit to appear publicly, I leave it to their pleasure: and, perhaps, to supply the aforesaid defects, I may send you some more of the experiments to second it, if it be so thought fit, in the ensuing Transactions.

I have no more but to offer my acknowledgments of your kindnesses in particular, and my thanks for the pains you are pleased to undertake in printing that letter.

“ S I R,

“ I am

“ Your faithful servant,

“ I. NEWTON.”

But, notwithstanding all this precaution which was taken in preparing it for public view, yet it was so absolutely new and unsuspected, and totally subversive of all mens settled opinions in this matter ; such a nice degree of accuracy and exactness was necessary in making the experiments upon which it was founded ; and the reasoning also upon those experiments was so very subtle and penetrating, that it no sooner went abroad into the world, than it found opposers in all quarters where ever it appeared.

Our author was thus unexpectedly drawn into various disputes about it ; which being, for the most part, occasioned, either by too much hastiness in trying his experiments, or else by reasoning wrong upon them, were very grievous to him.

He had spent eight years in repeating the experiments which ascertained the truth of the fact, and now thought to oblige the world ; by disclosing one of the most hidden secrets of nature ; and there was room to expect the benefaction would be received with all imaginable gratitude : but, steeped as they were in error, the discovery seems to have been construed into a reproach of their ignorance ; and they suffered for it.

By this specimen, the great inventor clearly saw what would be the consequence of giving the rest of his Theory, where he knew there must appear so many yet more amazingly severe truths.

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For this reason, he laid up his optical lectures, after he had prepared them for the press with a design to publish them: and, as he had referred, for the demonstrations of some things therein, to his *Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*; his intention was, the lectures should be accompanied with it: for which purpose he had enlarged and revised it, and cast it into a better form. He had likewise illustrated it with a great variety of examples, and set the whole method of fluxions entirely in a new light. However, he had not completed his whole design, before the decree against publication was passed; for he had thought of adding the manner of resolving such problems as could not be reduced to quadratures, which he never completed.

In this conduct, our author evidently acted against his own fame; but that motive had little weight with him, when thrown in the balance against the sweet enjoyment of an unruffled serenity of thought; a blessing which he valued above all the glory that mathematics or philosophy could heap upon him.

In the account which he gave himself, some years after, of these proceedings, he says,

“I blamed my own imprudence, for parting with so substantial a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow.”

Yet these disputes, vexatious as they were, did not hinder him from going on to finish his reflecting-telescope, the most immediately useful part of his optics; and, observing that there was no absolute necessity for the parabolic figure of the glasses, since, if metals could be ground truly spherical, they would bear as great apertures as men would be able to give a polish to, he completed another instrument of this kind; which answering the purpose so well, as, though it was only six inches long, yet he had seen with it Jupiter distinctly round, as also his four satellites, and Venus horned, he sent it to the royal society at their request, together with a description of it; which was afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions for the twenty-eighth of March, 1672, Number eighty-one.

There are likewise, in the two immediately subsequent numbers, several further observations and particulars relating to this new invention, communicated by him in the view of seconding the design of the society, to recommend it to some skilful artists, for further improvement, with respect to the two particulars which were still wanting, a proper composition of metal, and a good polish.

The same year, 1672, he published, at Cambridge, in 8vo, *Bernardi Varenii Geographia Generalis, in qua Affectiones Generales Telluris explicantur aucta & illustrata ab Is. Newton.*

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About this time, he had likewise some thoughts of publishing Kinckhuysen's Algebra, but afterwards dropped that design.

In 1675, Mr. Hooke laying claim to some of his inventions in his New Theory of Light and Colours, he asserted his right thereunto with a becoming spirit; and, the following year, at the request of Mr. Leibnitz, he wrote two letters, to be communicated to him, wherein he explained his invention of infinite series, and took notice how far he had improved it by his method of fluxions; which, however, he still concealed, by a transposition of the letters into an alphabetical order, that made up the two fundamental problems of it. This was done, that he might be at liberty to alter his method in some things, in case any body else should find it out.

In the winter between 1676 and 1677, he found the grand proposition, that, by a centripetal force reciprocally as the square of the distance, a planet must revolve in an ellipsis about the centre of force placed in the lower focus of the ellipsis, and with a radius drawn to that centre describe areas proportionable to the time.

In 1680, he made several astronomical observations upon the comet that then appeared; which, for some considerable time, he took not to be one and the same, but two different comets, against the suspicion of Mr. Flamsteed.

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However, the consequences of the theory of centripetal and centrifugal forces being the subject of much enquiry about this time, he received a letter from Mr. Hooke, explaining what must be the line described by a falling body, supposed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity; wherein he shewed, that it would not be a spiral line, but an eccentrical elliptoid, supposing no resistance in the medium; but, in case of resistance, it would be an eccentric ellipti-spiral, which, after many revolutions, would rest in the centre at last; and that the fall of the body would not be directly east, but to the south-east, and more to the south than the east.

This letter put Mr. Newton upon enquiring what was the real figure in which such a body moved; and this enquiry gave occasion to his resuming his former thoughts concerning the moon: and Picart having, not long before, viz. in 1679, measured a degree of the earth, by using his measures, the moon appeared to be retained in her orbit purely by the power of gravity; and, consequently, that this power decreases in the duplicate proportion of the distance, as he had formerly conjectured.

Upon this principle, he found the line described by a falling body to be an ellipsis, the centre of the earth being one focus; and finding by this means, that the primary planets really moved in such orbits as Kepler had guessed, he had the satisfaction to see, that this enquiry,
which

which he had undertaken at first out of meer curiosity, could be applied to the greatest purposes. Hereupon he drew up near a dozen propositions relating to the motion of the primary planets about the sun; which were communicated to the royal society in the latter end of the year 1683.

The best mathematical wits were engaged upon this subject; and, among others, Mr. Halley, in 1683-4, having proved the duplicate proportion in general from Kepler's sesquialterate ratio, found himself, as well as the rest, not able to carry the demonstration through all the particulars.

Thus baffled, he applied, first, to Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Hook; but meeting with no satisfaction from them, restless as he was to push, if possible, this pursuit, as well as all others, in which he heartily engaged, to a degree of perfection, he took a journey in August to Cambridge, in order to consult Mr. Newton.

Our author presently informed him, that he had absolutely completed the much desired demonstration; and Mr. Halley receiving it from him in November, made him a second visit at Cambridge; where he got his consent, with some difficulty, to have it entered in the register-books of the royal society. After which, by Mr. Halley's importunity, and the request of that society, our author was prevailed with to finish the work.

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The third book, being only a corollary of some propositions in the first, was then drawn up by him in the popular way, with a design to publish it in that form with the other two : but the manuscript being presented with a dedication to the royal society, in April, 1686, Mr. Hooke, very injuriously, insisted upon his having demonstrated Kepler's problem before our author ; whereupon, rather than be involved again in controversy, he determined to suppress the third book, till his friends prevailed upon him to alter that resolution. However, he was now convinced, that it would be best not to let it go abroad without strict demonstration.

The book was put to the press by the society soon after Midsummer, 1686, under the care of Mr. Halley, then assistant-secretary ; and it came out about Midsummer, 1687, under the title of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*.

From hence it appears, that this treatise, full of such a variety of profound inventions, was composed from scarce any other materials than the few propositions before-mentioned, in the space of eighteen months.

The second edition, with great additions and improvements by the author, was printed in 1713, 4to, under the direction of Mr. Roger Cotes, professor of astronomy and experimental philosophy in that university ; who prefixed a preface, giving an account of the philosophy contained in the book, especially with

regard to the famed vortices of Des Cartes ; which, though irrefragably refuted herein, still had their abettors.

The last edition, with still further improvements by the author, was published at London, in 4to, under the care of Henry Pemberton, M. D.

This book, in which our author had built a new system of natural philosophy, upon the most sublime geometry, did not meet at first with all the applause it deserved, and was one day to receive. Two reasons concurred in producing this effect: Des Cartes had then got full possession of the world ; his philosophy, was, indeed, the creature of a fine imagination, gaily dressed in a tempting metaphorical stile ; he had given her, likewise, some of nature's true features, and painted the rest to a seeming of nature's likeness, with a smiling countenance ; besides, whatever she said was easily understood ; and thus she yielded herself up, without any great difficulty, to her votaries. Upon these accounts, people in general even took unkindly an attempt to awake them out of so pleasing a dream.

On the other hand, Mr. Newton had, with an unparalleled penetration, pursued nature up to her most secret abodes, and was intent to demonstrate her residence to others, rather than anxious to point out the way by which he arrived at it himself. He finished his piece in that elegant conciseness, which had justly gained the antients an universal esteem. Indeed,

deed, the consequences flow with such rapidity from the principles, that the reader is often left to supply a long chain to connect them ; therefore it required some time before the world could understand it ; the best mathematicians were obliged to study it with care before they could be masters of it ; and those of a lower class durst not venture upon it, till encouraged by the testimonies of the most learned : but, at last, when its worth came to be sufficiently known, the approbation which had been so slowly gained, became universal ; and nothing was to be heard from all quarters but one general shout of admiration.

“ Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or sleep, like other men ? ” says the marquis l'Hôpital, one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, to the English who visited him ; “ I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely disengaged from matter.”

The general subject of the Principia is the doctrine of motion, which is the most considerable of all others for establishing the first principles of philosophy by geometrical demonstration. The undertaking was begun by Des Cartes ; but, taking up with gross experiments, without examination, he derived his conclusions too hastily. Mr. Newton both saw the mistake, and, at the same time, how extremely difficult it would be to avoid it ; but he had the resolution to make the attempt,

and he alone had strength to complete the execution.

To this end, by experiments made with the most accurate exactness, and observed with the nicest circumspection and sagacity, he first discovers what are the real phænomena of motion arising from the natural powers of gravity, elasticity, the resistance of fluids, and the like ; whence he rises, by the help of his own sublime geometry, to investigate the true forces of these powers of nature ; and then, from those forces, demonstrates the other phænomena : particularly, in settling the system of the heavens, he demonstrates mathematically, in the first book, what are the genuine effects of central forces, in all hypotheses whatsoever that can be framed concerning the laws of attraction ; then, from Kepler's rules, and other astronomical and geographical observations, he shews, what the particular laws of attraction are in nature ; and proves, that this attraction is every where the same as the terrestrial gravity ; by the force of which, all bodies tend to the sun, and to the several planets.

Then, from other demonstrations, which are also mathematical, he deduces the motion of the planets, the comets, the moon, and the sea.

In the height of all these profound, philosophical researches, just before his *Principia* went to the press, the privileges of the university being attacked by king James II, our author

thor appeared among the most hearty defenders; and was, accordingly, one of the delegates to the high-commission court; where the steady defence they made was so unexpected by the court, that the king thought proper to drop the affair.

After this, he was chosen one of the university representatives in the convention parliament in 1688, where he attended till its dissolution.

Mr. Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, sat likewise, for the first time, in that parliament; and, being bred at the same college, was well acquainted with our author's abilities; and undertaking the great work of recoinning the money when he became chancellor of the Exchequer, he obtained of the king, for Mr. Newton, in 1696, the office of warden of the Mint.

This post put him in a capacity of doing signal service in that affair, which was of so great importance to the nation: and, three years after, he was promoted to be master of the Mint: a place, *communibus annis*, worth twelve or fifteen hundred pounds a year; which he held till his death.

Upon this promotion, he appointed Mr. William Whiston, then master of arts at Clare-hall, his deputy in the mathematical professorship at Cambridge; giving him the full profits of the place: and, not long after, procured him to be his successor in that post.

The royal academy of sciences at Paris, having, this year, made a new regulation for admitting foreigners into their society, Mr. Newton was immediately elected a member of that academy.

In 1703, he was chosen president of the royal-society; in which chair he sat for twenty-five years, without interruption, till the day of his death.

In 1704, he published, at London, in 4to, his Optics: or, a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections, and Colours of Light. He had now at times employed thirty years in bringing the experiments to that degree of certainty and exactness, which alone could satisfy himself. In reality, this seems to have been his most favourite invention.

In the speculations of infinite series and fluxions, as also in his demonstrations of the power of gravity in preserving the system of the world, there had been some, tho' distant, hints given by others before him; whereas, in the dissecting a ray of light into its first constituent particles, which then admitted of no farther separation; in the discovery of the different refrangibility of these particles thus separated, and that these constituent rays had each its own peculiar colour inherent in it; that rays falling in the same angle of incidence have alternate fits of reflection and refraction; that bodies are rendered transparent by the minuteness of their pores, and become opaque
by

by having them large; and, that the most transparent body, by having a great thinness, will become less pervious to the light: in all these, which made up his New Theory of Light and Colours, he was absolutely and entirely the first starter; and, as the subject is of the most subtle and delicate nature, he thought it necessary to be himself the last finisher of it.

The art of making experiments to a certain degree of accuracy is far from being a common attainment. The most trifling fact that falls under our notice, is complicated with so many others which compose or modify it, that it requires the utmost sagacity even to guess at the particular ingredients of such a composition, and the nicest dexterity to distinguish them from each other. The facts to be examined must be resolved into others, which are themselves compounded; and sometimes, if we happen to mistake our way, we are led into endless and inextricable labyrinths. The truth is, the affair that chiefly employed his researches for so many years, was far from being confined to the subject of light alone: on the contrary, all that we know of natural bodies seemed to be comprehended in it; he had found out, that there was a mutual action at a distance between light and other bodies; by which both the reflections and refractions, as well as inflections, of the former were constantly produced.

To ascertain the force and extent of this principle of action, was what had all along

engaged his thoughts; and what, after all, by its extreme subtlety, escaped even his most penetrating spirit. However, though he has not made so full a discovery of this principle, which directs the course of light, as he has in relation to the power by which the planets are kept in their courses; yet he gave the best directions possible for such as might be inclined to carry on the work; and furnished matter abundantly enough to animate them to the pursuit. He has, indeed, hereby opened a way of passing from optics to an entire system of physics; and, if we look upon his queries, as containing the history of a great man's first thoughts, even in that view they must be entertaining and curious.

He was very anxious that his true meaning in them should be rightly understood; which was, to furnish sufficient motives for making farther enquiries; but, in the mean time, not to determine any thing: and, when Dr. Friend published his Lectures in Chymistry, a few years after, in explaining the phænomena of chymical experiments, assumed the attraction for a principle, which in the queries was only started as a conjecture, our author complained of it as an injury done to him. Upon the same account it was, that in the advertisement prefixed to the Optics, he expressed a desire that his book might not be translated into Latin without his consent; and, when Dr. Clarke, who, to prevent others, immediately undertook it, with his approbation, presented
the

the manuscript to him, finding herein his sense accurately expressed in elegant language, he was so much pleased with it, that he gave him 500 l. or 100 l. for each of his children.

Dr. Clarke's translation was printed at London, in 1706, 4to, and our author printing a second edition of this book, with improvements, there, in 1718, 8vo, the second edition of Dr. Clarke's translation was likewise published in 1719, 4to. Mr. Peter Coste translated it into French from the second edition.

The first edition of the Optics was accompanied with his Quadrature of Curves by his new analysis; to which he subjoined, An Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order: both contained under the following title, *Tractatus duo de Speciebus & Magnitudine Figurarum Curvilinearum*. This was the first appearance in print of his Method of Fluxions. It was apparently done upon the plan of his original intention in 1671, as has been mentioned. He declined to publish it then on account of a controversy, and it unluckily proved the occasion of drawing him into another now.

In 1705, queen Anne, in consideration of his extraordinary merit, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him.

In 1707, Mr. Whiston, by our author's permission, published his Algebraical Lectures under this title: *Arithmetica Universalis, five de Compositione & Resolutione Arithmeticae Liber*; and it was put into English by Mr. Ralphson from this edition.

Sir Isaac printed a second edition, with improvements, under the care of Mr. Machin, professor of astronomy at Gresham-college, and secretary to the royal-society.

This work was another specimen of the vast depth of our author's genius. Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he called this treatise by the name of Universal Arithmetic, in opposition to the injudicious title of Geometry, which Des Cartes had given to the treatise; wherein he shews how the geometer may assist his invention by such kind of computations.

Mr. s'Gravesande observes, that the ablest mathematicians of the last age did not disdain to write notes on the Geometry of Des Cartes; "and surely," continues he, "Sir Isaac Newton's Arithmetic no less deserves that honour: and, to excite some skilful hands to undertake that work, as well as to shew the necessity of it, he gave a specimen in the explication of two passages, which, however, are not the most difficult in that book. Accordingly, Mr. Maclaurin dying in the year 1745, left a treatise which was designed for a commentary upon it.

In 1711, our author's *Analysis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones & Differentias cum Enumeratione Linearum Tertii Ordinis*, was published at London, in 4to, by William Jones, esq. F. R. S. who met with a copy of the first of these pieces among the papers of Mr. John Collins, to whom, as already mentioned

tioned, it had been communicated by Dr. Barrow in 1669. But the invention of approximating per differentias, or the method of drawing a geometrical curve of the parabolic kind through any number of points, though found out by our author long before, and reckoned by himself to be one of his rarest discoveries, yet had not been communicated by him till this time.

The publication of this book was occasioned by the dispute about the invention of the method of fluxions, which likewise gave birth to the following work, that was undertaken by the consent of Sir Isaac, and printed the next year at London, in 4to, containing a collection of several letters by Sir Isaac and others, in relation to that controversy, under this title: *Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum, de Analyfi promotâ, jussu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum.*

In 1714, Mr. Humphrey Ditton and Mr. William Whiston, having proposed and published, a new method of discovering the longitude at sea by signals, it was laid before the house of commons to procure their encouragement: upon which a committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration; who, sending to Sir Isaac Newton for his opinion, he immediately drew up the following paper, which was delivered to the committee on the second of June.

“ For determining the Longitude at sea there have been several projects, true in theory but difficult to execute.

“ I. One is by a watch to keep time exactly ; but, by reason of the motion of a ship, the variation of heat and cold, wet or dry, and the difference of gravity in different latitudes, such a watch hath not yet been made.

“ II. Another is by the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites ; but, by reason of the length of telescopes necessary to observe them, and the motion of a ship at sea, those eclipses cannot yet be there observed.

“ III. A third is, by the place of the moon ; but her theory is not yet exact enough for that purpose ; it is exact enough to determine the longitude within two or three degrees, but not within a degree.

“ IV. A fourth is Mr. Ditton's project ; and this is rather for keeping an account of the Longitude at sea, than for finding it if at any time it should be lost, as it may easily be in cloudy weather. How far this is practicable, and with what charge, they that are skilled in sea-affairs are best able to judge. In sailing by this method, when ever they are to pass over very deep seas, they must sail due east or west ; they must first sail into the latitude of the next place to which they are going beyond it, and then keep due east or west till they come at that place.

“ In

“ In the three first ways there must be a watch regulated by a spring, and rectified every visible sun-rise and sun-set, to tell the hour of the day or night. In the fourth way, such a watch is not necessary. In the first way there must be two watches, this and the other above-mentioned. In any of the three first ways it may be of service to find the Longitude within a degree, and of much more service to find it within forty minutes, or half a degree if it may; and the success may deserve rewards accordingly.

“ In the fourth way, it is easier to enable seamen to know their distance and bearing from the shore; forty, sixty, or eighty miles off, than to cross the seas; and some part of the reward may be given, when the first is performed on the coast of Great-Britain, for the safety of ships coming home; and the rest when seamen shall be enabled to sail to an assigned remote harbour without losing their Longitude, if it may be.”

Upon this opinion the house of commons threw aside the petition.

In 1715, Mr. Leibnitz intending to bring the world more easily into a belief, that Sir Isaac had taken the method of fluxions from his differential method; thought to foil his mathematical skill by the famous problem of the trajectories, which he therefore proposed to the English by way of challenge. But the solution of this, though it was the most difficult

cult proposition his antagonist could think of, after a great deal of study, and, indeed, might pass for a considerable performance in another, yet was it hardly any more than an amusement to Sir Isaac. He received the problem at four o'clock in the evening, as he was returning from the Mint; and, though he was extremely fatigued with business, yet he finished the solution of it before he went to bed.

As Mr. Leibnitz was privy-counsellor of justice to the elector of Hanover, when that prince was raised to the British throne, Sir Isaac came to be taken particular notice of at court; and it was for the immediate satisfaction of king George I. that he was prevailed with to put the last hand to the dispute about the invention of fluxions.

In this court, the princess of Wales, afterwards queen-consort to his late majesty, king George II. happened to have a curiosity, which led her particularly to look into philosophical enquiries. No sooner, therefore, was she informed of our author's firmness to the house of Hanover, than she engaged his conversation, which presently endeared him to her. Here she found, in every difficulty, that full satisfaction which she had in vain sought for elsewhere; and her highness was often heard to declare in public, that she thought herself happy in coming into the world at a juncture of time which put it in her power to converse with him.

Amongst

Amongst other things, Sir Isaac one day acquainted her highness with his thoughts upon some points of chronology, and communicated to her what he had formerly wrote purely for his own amusement upon that subject. But the plan appeared to be so unexpectedly new and ingenious, that she could not be satisfied till he promised her to compleat a work she found so happily begun.

Not long after, about the year 1718, the princess begged she might have a copy of these papers. Sir Isaac represented to her highness that they lay very confused; and, besides, what he had written therein was imperfect; but, in a few days, he could draw up an abstract thereof, if it might be kept secret. Some time after he had done this and presented it, she desired that Signior Conti, a Venetian nobleman, then in England, might have a copy of it. This was a request which could not be denied, especially as the condition of secrecy was readily promised.

Notwithstanding this promise, the abbé, who, during his stay in England, had always affected to shew a particular friendship for Sir Isaac, no sooner got cross the water into France but he dispersed copies of it; got an antiquary to translate it into French; and, moreover, to write a confutation of it. This was printed at Paris in 1725; after which, a copy of the translation only, without the remarks, under this title, *Abregé de Chronologie de M. le*
Chevalier

Chevalier Newton, fait par lui même & traduit sur le manuscrit Anglois, was delivered, as a present, from the bookseller that printed it to our author, in order to obtain his consent to the publication; which, though expressly denied by him, yet the whole was published not long after in the same year.

Upon this, Sir Isaac published, in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 386, vol. xxxiv. p. 315, Remarks upon the Observations made upon a Chronological Index of Sir Isaac Newton, translated into French by the observator, and published at Paris.

Some few years before this, in the eightieth year of his age, our author was seized with an incontinence of urine, thought to proceed from the stone in the bladder, and judged to be incurable: however, by the help of a strict regimen, and other precautions, which till then he never had occasion for, he procured great intervals of ease during the five remaining years of his life; yet he was not free from some severe paroxysms, which even occasioned large drops of sweat to run down his face.

In these circumstances, he never was seen to utter the least complaint, nor express the least impatience; and, as soon as he had a moment's ease, he would smile and talk with his usual cheerfulness. Till this time he had always read and writ several hours in a day, but he was now obliged to rely upon Mr. Conduit for the discharge of his office in the Mint.

On

On Saturday morning, March 18, 1726-7, he read the news-papers, and discoursed a long time with Dr. Mead, his physician, having then the perfect use of all his senses and his understanding; but that night he entirely lost them all; and not recovering them after, he died on the Monday following, which was the twentieth of March, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem-chamber, and, on the twenty-eighth of March, was conveyed into Westminster-abbey, the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, and the earls of Pembroke, Suffex, and Macclesfield holding up the pall. The corpse was interred just at the entrance into the choir, on the left hand, where a rich monument is erected to his memory, with a suitable inscription upon it, which well deserves a place here, and is as follows :

H. S. E.

Isaacus Newton, Eques Auratus,

Qui animi vi prope divina

Planetarum motas, figuras,

Cometarum semitas, Oceanique Æstus,

Sua mathesi facem præferente,

Primus demonstravit.

Radiorum lucis dissimilitudines,

Colorumque inde nascentium proprietates,

Quas nemo antea vel suspicatus erat, prevestigavit.

Naturæ

Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
 Sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres,
 Dei Opt. Max. majestatem philosophia afferuit,
 Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit.

Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque existi-
 tisse

HUMANI GENERIS DECUS.

Natus xxv. Decemb. MDCXLII. Obiit. xx.
 March, MDCCXXVI.

As to his person, he was of a middling stature, and somewhat inclined to be fat in the latter part of his life. His countenance was pleasing and venerable at the same time, especially when he took off his peruke, and shewed his white hair, which was pretty thick. He lost but one tooth, and never made use of spectacles during his whole life; which, perhaps, might be the ground for Mr. Fontenelle's saying, in a kind of panegyric, that he had a very lively and piercing eye. For bishop Atterbury, who seems to have observed it more critically, assures us, that,

“ This did not belong to him, at least not for twenty years past, about which time,” says the bishop, “ I became acquainted with him. Indeed, in the whole air of his face and make, there was nothing of that penetrating sagacity which appears in his compositions; he had something rather languid in his look and manner,

ner, which did not raise any great expectation in those who did not know him."

In viewing the character of his genius, we must turn to the nature of his inventions, and the manner in which he opened his way to them. Of these we have given an account at the several stages of his life when the discoveries were made by him. The mark that seems most of all to distinguish it is this, That he himself was the truest judge, and made the justest estimation of it.

One day, when one of his friends had said some handsome things of his extraordinary talents, Sir Isaac, in an easy and unaffected way assured him, that, for his own part, he was sensible, that, whatever he had done worth notice, was owing to a patience of thought, rather than any extraordinary sagacity which he was endowed with above other men. "I keep the subject constantly before, and wait till the first dawnings open slowly, by little and little, into a full and clear light." And hence we are able to give a very natural account of that unusual kind of horror which he had for all disputes upon these points; a steady, unbroken attention was his peculiar felicity; he knew it, and he knew the value of it.

In such a situation of mind, controversy must needs be looked upon as his bane. However, he was at a great distance from being steeped in philosophy: on the contrary, he
could

could lay aside his thoughts, though engaged in the most intricate researches, when his other affairs required his attendance; and, as soon as he had leisure, resume the subject at the point where he left off. This he seems to have done, not so much by any extraordinary strength of memory, as by the force of his inventive faculty, to which every thing opened itself again with ease, if nothing intervened to ruffle him.

The readiness of his invention made him not think of putting his memory much to the trial; but this was the offspring of a vigorous intenseness of thought, out of which he was but a common man. He spent, therefore, the prime of his age in these abstruse researches, when his situation in a college gave him leisure, and even while study was his proper profession: but, as soon as he was removed to the Mint, he applied himself chiefly to the business of that office; and so far quitted mathematics and philosophy, as not to engage in any new pursuits of either kind afterwards.

Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he found Sir Isaac had read fewer of the modern mathematicians than one could have expected; but his own prodigious invention readily supplied him with what he might have occasion for in any subject he undertook. He often censured the handling geometrical subjects by algebraic calculations; and frequently praised Slusius, Barrow, and Huygens, for not being influenced by the bad taste which then began to prevail.

He

He used to commend the laudable attempt of Hugo de Omerique, to restore the antient analysis, and very much esteemed Apollonius's book *De Sectione Rationis*, for giving us a clearer notion of that analysis than we had before. He particularly recommended Huygens's style and manner, as being, he thought, the most elegant of any mathematical writer of modern times, and the most just imitator of the antients; of whose taste and form of demonstration Sir Isaac always professed himself a great admirer.

Dr. Pemberton likewise observes, that his memory, indeed, was much decayed in the last years of his life; yet the common discourse, that he did not then understand his own works, was entirely groundless. This opinion might perhaps arise from his not being always ready to speak on these subjects when it might be expected he should. But this the doctor imputes to an absence commonly seen in great geniuses.

“Inventors,” says he, “seem to treasure up in their minds what they have found out, after another manner than those do the same things who have not this inventive faculty. The former, when they have occasion to produce their knowledge, are obliged, in some measure, immediately to investigate part of what they want; for this, as they are not equally fit at all times, so it has often happened, that such as retain things chiefly by means of a
very

very strong memory, have appeared off hand more expert than even the discoverers themselves."

Add to this, what, in regard to strict truth, must not be suppressed, that the behaviour of Mr. Leibnitz particularly, as well as of the Abbé Conti, not to mention some others, had given that caution which was innate to him such a reserve, as seemed to border upon the suspicious. However, this reserve, no doubt, was at some of these times the genuine effect of his native modesty ; which, in passing to contemplate the character of his mind, appears to stand foremost in his composition, and was, in truth, greater than can easily be imagined, or will be readily believed ; yet it always continued so, without any alteration, tho' the whole world, says Mr. de Fontenelle, conspired against it.

In his dispute with Mr. Leibnitz, he even shewed a great meekness of disposition ; however, he was very far from being insensible, both of the injurious presumption and mean chicanery of his envious competitor ; and undoubtedly took the best method of foiling him, by refusing to feed his vanity with a verbal contest, but subduing his insolence with inflexible facts.

When he was twenty-seven years of age, he wrote a letter to a young gentleman who was entering upon his travels ; where, in giving rules for his friend's conduct, he has in some measure

measure described his own. This young gentleman was Francis Aston, esq. and the letter he sent him was as follows.

“ Trinity-college, Cambridge,
May 18, 1669.

“ S I R,

“ SINCE in your letter you give me so much liberty of sending my judgment about what may be to your advantage in travelling, I shall do it more freely than perhaps otherwise would have been decent. First, then, I will lay down some general rules; most of which, I believe, you have considered already; but, if any of them be new to you, they may excuse the rest; if none at all, yet is my punishment more in writing than yours in reading.

“ When you come into any fresh company,
“ I. Observe their humours.

“ II. Secondly, suit your own carriage thereto; by which insinuation you will make their converse more free and open.

“ III. Let your discourse be more in queries and doubtings, than peremptory assertions or disputings; it being much the design of travellers to learn, not to teach. Besides, it will persuade your acquaintance that you have the greater esteem of them, and so make them more ready to communicate what they know to you; whereas, nothing sooner occasions dis-

disrespect and quarrels than peremptoriness. You will find little or no advantage in seeming wiser, or much more ignorant, than your company.

“ IV. Seldom discommend any thing, though never so bad ; or doe it but moderately, least you bee unexpectedly forced to an unhandsom retraction. It is safer to commend any thing more than it deserves, than to discommend a thing so much as it deserves : for commendations meet not soe often with oppositions, or at least are not usually so ill resented by men that think otherwise, as discommendations ; and you will insinuate into mens favour by nothing sooner than seeming to approve and commend what they like ; but beware of doing it by a comparison.

“ V. If you bee affronted, it is better, in a forraine country, to pass it by in silence, and with a jest, tho’ with some dishonour, than to endeavour revenge ; for, in the first case, your credit’s ne’er the worse, when you return into England, or come into other company, that have not heard of the quarrell. But, in the second case, you may beare the marks of the quarrell while you live, if you outlive it at all. But, if you find yourself unavoidably engaged, ’tis best, I think, if you can command your passion and language, to keep them pretty eavenly, at some certain moderate pitch, not much hightning them to exasperate your adversary, or provoke his friends, nor letting them grow over much dejected, to
make

make him insult. In a word, if you can keep reason above passion, that and watchfulness will be your best defendants. To which purpose you may consider, that, tho' such excuses as this, 'He provokt mee soe much, I could not forbear,' may pass among friends, yet amongst strangers they are insignificant, and only argue a traveller's weakness.

" To these I may add some general heads for inquiries or observations, such as at present I can think on. As,

" I. To observe the policys, wealth, and state-affairs of nations, so far as a solitary traveller may conveniently doe.

" II. Their impositions upon all sorts of people, trade, or commoditys, that are remarkable.

" III. Their laws and customs, how far they differ from ours.

" IV. Their trades and arts, wherein they excell, or come short of us in England.

" V. Such fortifications as you meet with, their fashion, strength, and advantage, or defence; and other such military affairs as are considerable.

" VI. The power and respect belonging to their degrees of nobility, or magistracy.

" VII. It will not be time mispent to make a catalogue of the names and excellencies of those men that are most wise, learned, or esteemed in any nation.

“ VIII. Observe the mechanisme and manner of guiding ships.

“ Observe the products of nature in several places, especially in mines, with the circumstances of mining, and of extracting metals, or minerals, out of their oare, and of refining them ; and, if you meet with any transmutations out of their own species into another (as out of iron into copper, out of any metall into quicksilver, out of one salt into another, or into an insipid body, &c.) those, above all, will be worth your noting, being the most luciferous, and many times luciferous experiments too in philosophy.

“ X. The prices of diet and other things. And,

“ XI. The staple commodity of places.

“ These generals, such at present as I could think of, if they will serve for nothing else, yet they may assist you in drawing up a modell to regulate your travells by. As for particulars, these that follow are all that I now can think of : viz.

“ I. Whether, at Semnitium, in Hungary, (where there are mines of gold, copper, iron, vitriol, antimony, &c.) they change iron into copper by dissolving it in a vitriolate water, which they find in cavities of rocks in the the mines, and then melting the slimy solution in a strong fire, which in the cooling proves copper. The like is said to be done in other

other places, which I cannot now remember; perhaps too it may be done in Italy; for, about twenty or thirty years ago, there was a certain vitrioll came from thence, called Roman vitrioll, but of a nobler virtue than that which is now called by that name; which vitrioll is not now to be gotten, because, perhaps, they make a greater gain by some such trick as turning iron into copper with it, than by selling it.

“ II. Whether, in Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, near the town of Flia, or at the mountains of Bohemia, near Silesia, there bee rivers whose waters are impregnated with gold; perhaps, the gold being dissolved by some corrosive waters, like aqua regis, and the solution carried along with the streame that runs through the mines. And, Whether the practise of laying mercury in the rivers till it be tinged with gold, and then straining the mercury through leather that the gold may stay behind, be a secret yet, or openly practised.

“ III. There is newly contrived in Holland, a mill to grind glasses plane withall, and I think polishing them too; perhaps it will be worth while to see it.

“ IV. There is in Holland, one --- Borry, who some years since was imprisoned by the pope, in order to have extorted from him secrets, as I am told, of great worth, both as to medicine and profit; but he escaped into Holland, where they usually granted him a guard. I think he usually goes cloathed in
D 2 green.

green. Pray inquire what you can of him, and whether his ingenuity be any profit to the Dutch. You may inform yourself, whether the Dutch have any tricks to keep their ships from being all worm-eaten in their voyages to the Indies. Whether pendulum clocks do any service in finding out the longitude, &c.

“ I am weary, and I shall not stay to part with a long compliment, only I wish you a good journey, and God be with you.

“ If. Newton.

“ Pray let us hear from you in your travells, I have given your two books to Dr. Arrowsmith.”

He never talked either of himself or others, nor ever behaved in such a manner, as to give the most malicious censurers the least occasion even to suspect him of vanity. He was candid and affable, and always put himself upon a level with his company. He never thought either his merit or reputation sufficient to excuse him from any of the common offices of social life. No singularities, either natural or affected, distinguished him from other men.

Though he was firmly attached to the church of England, he was averse to the persecution of the nonconformists. He judged of men by their manners; and the true schismatics,

matics, in his opinion, were the vicious and the wicked. Not that he confined his principles to natural religion, for he was thoroughly persuaded of the truth of revelation; and, amidst the great variety of books which he had constantly before him, that which he studied with the greatest application was the Bible.

He did not neglect the opportunities of doing good, which the revenues of his patrimony, and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent œconomy, put into his power. When decency upon any occasion required expence and shew, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace. At other times, that pomp, which seems great to low minds only, was utterly retrenched, and the expence reserved for better uses.

He never married, and, perhaps, he never had leisure to think of it. Being immersed in profound studies during the prime of his age, and afterwards engaged in an employment of great importance, and even quite taken up with the company which his merit drew to him, he was not sensible of any vacancy in life, nor of the want of a companion at home.—He left two and thirty thousand pounds at his death, but made no will; which Mr. Fontenelle tells us was, because he thought a legacy was no gift.

After Sir Isaac's death, there were found among his papers several discourses upon the

subjects of Antiquity, History, Divinity, Chymistry, and Mathematics.—— Some of these have been published —— Besides those already mentioned, in 1727, there appeared a table of the assays of foreign coins, drawn up by him, and published at the end of Dr. Arbuthnot's book on that subject. And the next year came abroad his Chronology, under this title: *The Chronology of Antient Kingdoms amended: to which is prefixed a Short Chronicle, from the first Memory of Things in Europe, to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great.* By Sir Isaac Newton. Dedicated to the Queen by Mr. Conduit.

In the Advertisement to this work, we are told, That,

“ Though the Chronology of Antient Kingdoms amended was writ by the author many years since, yet he lately revised it, and was actually preparing it for the press at the time of his death. But the Short Chronicle was never intended to be made public, and therefore was not so lately corrected by him. To this the reader must impute it, if he shall find any places where the Short Chronicle does not accurately agree with the dates assigned in the larger piece.

“ The sixth chapter was not copied out with the other five, which makes it doubtful whether he intended to print it; but being found among his papers, and evidently appearing

ing to be a continuation of the same work, and as such abridged in the Short Chronicle, it was thought proper to be added."

Sir Isaac, speaking of this work, in 1725, says, when he lived at Cambridge, he used sometimes to refresh his memory with History and Chronology for a while; when he was weary of other studies. Nevertheless, there is displayed in this work, the same creative genius, if we may be allowed the expression, which informed his other researches. Accustomed to unravel chaoses, he has thrown light into the dark and fabulous ages of antiquity, and fixed an uncertain chronology; shewing himself herein no less a master in calculating the comparative degrees of moral evidence, than he was in applying the absolute force of mathematical demonstration. The chain of his argument is unavoidably sometimes so long, that even tolerable good capacities, in attempting to follow it, have, by dropping some of the links, lost the connection, and thence erroneously concluded him mistaken.

In the piece, as we have it unfinished, there are, perhaps, a very few small errors of little consequence, which, however, probably would not have escaped his last revival. But he employed his care upon the principal part; and his two main arguments, from astronomy and the course of nature, will always remain unshaken monuments of his supreme abilities among the best judges. All sorts of readers

must find a very agreeable entertainment from his account of the heathen mythology, of the origin and progress of the arts and sciences, and a variety of curious observations of several kinds, which he has interspersed throughout the whole work. The generous and good-natured mind, in particular, must needs be pleased to find him losing no opportunity of instilling those principles of virtue and humanity, which, by his conduct and writings, appear to have been always uppermost in his heart.

He severely condemns all kind of oppression and every kind of cruelty even to brute beasts; he inculcates mercy, charity, and the indispensable duty of doing good, with the greatest warmth; and shews, that an abhorrence of idolatry and persecution was one of the earliest laws of the divine legislator; that in these things consisted the morality of the first ages, the primitive religion both of Jews and Christians; and that these ought to be the standing religion of all nations, they being both for the honour of God and the good of society.

This treatise must likewise be of considerable use to the divine, as it sets the connection of sacred and prophane history in a new and clearer light than before, and furnishes him with many illustrations of several texts of scripture not to be found in the most celebrated commentators.

After this, there came out his *Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse*

lypse of St. John. London, 1733, quarto. Though this appears to be a very unfinished piece, yet there are seen some strokes in it which discover the hand of its great master. Among other things, he has shewn the exact duration of our Saviour's ministry upon earth, by a strict demonstration:—A difficulty which had mocked the efforts of the best wits before him.

In 1734, Dr. Berkley, bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, in a piece intitled *The Analyst*, attacked his method of Fluxions, as being obscure and unintelligible; since the doctrine of moments, upon which it was founded, necessarily involved a notion of infinity, whereof we can form no comprehensible or adequate idea; and therefore ought to be excluded from all geometrical disquisitions. This gave rise to a controversy, which occasioned the publication of our author's *Method of Fluxions and Analysis by Infinite Series*.

The treatise being written in Latin was translated into English, and printed in 1736, 4to. with a perpetual commentary by Mr. John Colson, since professor of mathematics at Cambridge; wherein, amone other things, he inserted *A Defence of the Method against the Objections of Dr. Berkley*. The task, indeed, was not difficult; Sir Isaac was too clear-sighted not to perceive such objections, and accordingly had fully obviated them before, (viz. in schol. to sect. 1. of his *Principia*, and lemma 2. B. 11.) so much to the satisfaction

of every intelligent and unprejudiced reader, that the great dust which had been raised about the whole of his doctrine, must be owing, as has been observed, either to weakness or some worse principle.

In 1737, there was printed an English translation of A Latin Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews ; written by Sir Isaac. It was found subjoined to a work of his not finished, intituled Lexicon Propheticum.

Lastly, in 1756, there was published, in 8vo, Four Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Dr. Bentley ; containing some Arguments in Proof of a Deity. These letters were wrote in the year 1692,

Dr. Bentley had been appointed to preach the first course of sermons of Mr. Boyle's lecture ; and being intent to make the best figure he could on that occasion, he applied to our author for the solution of a difficulty which he had met with, in an argument urged by Lucretius, to prove the eternity of the world from an hypothesis of deriving the frame of it, by mechanical principles, from matter endued with an innate principle of gravity evenly spread through the heavens.

The hypothesis being inconsistent with Sir Isaac's system of the world, as laid down and demonstrated in the Principia, had been very little considered by him in this application. However, he easily satisfied all the doctor's queries upon the subject with great clearness ; and it may be observed, that, as Dr.
Bentley

Bentley established his fame by these sermons at Boyle's lecture, so that happiness was entirely owing to the assistance, public and private, which he received from Sir Isaac Newton.



THE LIFE OF

GEORGE BYNG.

GEORGE BYNG, afterwards lord-vifcount Torrington, was descended from an antient family in the county of Kent. He was born in the year 1663, and, at the age of fifteen, went a volunteer into the royal navy, in the service of Charles II. having had the king's letter given him at the recommendation of the duke of York.

In 1681, upon the invitation of general Kirk, governor of Tangier, he quitted the sea, and served as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison, till, on a vacancy, which quickly happened, the general, who was always his warm patron, made him an ensign in his own company, and soon after a lieutenant.

In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the earl of Dartmouth, general of the sea and land forces, appointed him lieutenant of the Orford; from which time he kept constantly to the sea-service; but did not throw up his commission as an officer for several years after.

In

In the year 1685, he went lieutenant of his majesty's (James II.) ship *Phoenix* to the East Indies; where engaging and boarding a Ziganian pirate, who maintained a desperate fight, most of those who entered with him were slain, himself dangerously wounded, and the pirate sinking, he was taken up with scarce any remains of life.

In the year 1688, being first lieutenant to Sir John Ashby, in the fleet commanded by the earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppose the designs of the prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entrusted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on among the most considerable officers of the fleet, in favour of that prince; and was the person entrusted by them to carry their secret assurances of obedience to his highness; to whom he was privately introduced at Sherbourn, by admiral Ruffel, afterward earl of Orford. At his return to the fleet, the earl of Dartmouth sent him, with captain Aylmer and captain Hastings, to carry a message of submission to the prince at Windsor, who made him captain of the *Constant Warwick*, a fourth rate man of war.

In 1690, he commanded the *Hope*, a third rate; and was second to Sir George Rooke, in the battle off Beachy.

In the years 1691, and 1692, he was captain of the *Royal Oak*, and served under admiral Ruffel, commander in chief of the fleet. Nor were his merits concealed from that great officer,

officer, for he distinguished him in a very remarkable manner, by promoting him to the rank of his first captain.

In 1702, a war breaking out, he accepted the command of the Nassau; and was at the taking and burning the fleet at Vigo.

In the year 1703, he was made rear-admiral of the red by queen Anne; and served in the Mediterranean fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel; who detached him with a squadron of five men of war to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home, he was in great danger of being lost in the great storm which overtook him in the channel.

In 1704, he served in the grand fleet sent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, in search of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the squadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar; and, by landing the seamen, whose valour was on this occasion remarkably distinguished, the place capitulated the third day. He was in the battle off Malaga, which followed soon after; and, for his behaviour in that action, her majesty conferred on him the order of knighthood.

Towards the latter end of this year, the French having two strong squadrons in the Soundings, besides great numbers of privateers, which greatly annoyed our trade, Sir George Byng sailed the latter end of January from Plymouth, with a squadron of twelve
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men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen; and, after seeing the latter safely out of the Channel, he divided his squadron to such advantage, that he took twelve of their largest privateers, in about two months, together with the *Thetis*, a French man of war of forty guns, and seven merchant ships, most of them richly laden from the West-Indies. This remarkable success gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they rarely ventured into the Channel during the remainder of the year.

In the year 1705, he was made vice-admiral of the blue; and, upon the election of a new parliament, was returned one of the burgessees for Plymouth; which place he constantly after represented in parliament till he was created a peer-

In the beginning of the year 1797, Sir George was ordered with a squadron to Alicante, with necessaries for the army in Spain; and accordingly sailed on the twentieth of March: but, on his arrival off Cape St. Vincent, he heard the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the earl of Galway, who sent to the admiral to acquaint him with the distress he was in; and desired, that whatever he had brought for the use of the army might be carried to Tortosa in Catalonia; to which place his lordship intended to retreat; and, that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia;

cia ; where it was intended to embark every thing that could be got together.

This the admiral performed ; and, having sent the sick and wounded to Tortosa, and being soon after joined by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, from Lisbon, proceeded together to the coast of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty transports, to second prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, in the siege of Toulon ; in which Sir George served in the second post under Sir Cloudesly, and narrowly escaped shipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was lost ; for the Royal Anne, in which Sir George carried his flag, was within a ship's length of the rocks on which Sir Cloudesly struck ; yet was providentially saved by his own and his officer's presence of mind, who, in a minute's time set the ship's topsails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains.

In the year 1701, he was made admiral of the blue, and commanded the squadron fitted out to oppose the invasion intended to be made in Scotland by the pretender, and a French army from Dunkirk. This squadron consisted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George, and lord Dursley, sailed from the Downs for the French coast, on the twenty-seventh of February ; and, having anchored in Gravelin-pits, Sir George went on board a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of the Flemish Road, and there learned the number and strength of the enemy's ships.

On

On the admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from their court, were obliged to resume it; and, on the sixth of March, actually sailed out of the port of Dunkirk; but, being taken short by contrary winds, came to anchor on the eighth, and then continued their voyage.

Sir George had been obliged, at the time the French fleet sailed, to come to an anchor under Dungeness; and, in his return to Dunkirk, was informed that the French fleet was sailed, but whither could not be known; tho' he was persuaded they were designed for Scotland: whereupon it was resolved, in a council of war, to pursue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh; and, accordingly, having first detached rear-admiral Barker, with a small squadron to convoy the troops to Ostend, the admiral prosecuted his expedition with the rest of the fleet.

On the thirtieth of March, the French were discovered in the Firth of Edinburgh; where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a north-east course, as if they had intended to have gone to St. Andrews.— Sir George pursued them, and took the Salisbury, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of great quality on board; many land and sea officers in the French service of very great distinction; five companies of the regiment of Bern, and all the ship's company, consisting of three hundred men.

After

After this, Sir George finding it impossible to come up with the enemy, returned to Leith, where he continued, till advice was received of the French being returned to Dunkirk.

Before the admiral left Leith Road, the lord-provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, to shew their grateful sense of the important service he had done them, by thus drawing off the French before they had time to land their forces; and thereby preserving, not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invasion, resolved to present him with the freedom of their city, by sending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnson, their late representative in parliament, with an instrument called a burghers-ticket, inclosed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the side, and these words engraven on the cover :

“ The lord-provost, bailiffs, and town-council of Edinburgh, did present these letters to burgeoise Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue, in gratitude to him for delivering this island from a foreign invasion, and defeating the designs of the French fleet at the mouth of the Firth of Edinburgh, the 13th of March, 1708.”

! One would have imagined, that this remarkable success must have satisfied every body; and, that, after defeating so extraordinary

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nary a scheme, as this was then allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were, in an instant, there should be an universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral by all ranks and degrees of people: but so far was this from being the case, that Sir George Byng had scarce set his foot in London, that it was whispered, that the parliament would enquire into his conduct; which notion had its rise from a very foolish persuasion, that, having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship of them, as well as the Salisbury.

The truth was, that the French, having amused the Jacobites in Scotland with a proposal of besieging Edinburgh - castle, Sir George Byng was particularly instructed, by all means, to prevent that undertaking, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, answered the purpose of his expedition.

But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another; namely, that Sir George was also hindered from taking the French fleet by his ships being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the house of commons; and an address to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng; and when the ships were cleaned: which at last, however, ended in this resolution:

“ That

“ That the thanks of the house be given to the prince, for his great care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships ; whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled so happily to prevent the intended invasion.”

This was a very wise and well concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falsity of those reports, and at the same time gave great satisfaction to the queen and her royal consort the prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his royal highness's character was affected, as lord-high-admiral.

About the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken to make a descent on, or, at least to alarm, the coast of France, by way of retaliation for the affront so lately offered us ; and Sir George Byng, as admiral ; and lord Dursley, as vice-admiral of the blue ; were appointed to carry the scheme into execution.

Accordingly, Sir George sailed from Spithead on the twenty-seventh of July, with the fleet and transports, having the troops on board, intended for a descent, commanded by lieutenant-general Earle ; and the next day came to an anchor off Deal. The twenty-ninth they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and at the same time to be ready for further orders. The first of August the fleet sailed again, and

and anchored the nex day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops. On the third they stood in, pretty near the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy: and on the fourth they weighed again, but came to an anchor about noon in the bay of Estaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have seconded, being laid aside, an express arrived from England; on which the troops were re-embarked.

In this manner they continued several days on the coast of France, creating the enemy inexpressible trouble; and indeed the true design of it was only to disturb the naval armaments on their coasts, and oblige the French court to march large bodies of men to protect their maritime towns; which necessarily occasioned a diminution of their army in Flanders.

The same year, Sir George had the honour of conducting the queen of Portugal to Lisbon; where a commission was sent him, appointing him admiral of the white; and her Portuguese majesty presented him with her picture set with diamonds to a very great value.

In the year 1709, he was commander in chief of the fleet stationed in the Mediterranean; during which he attempted the relief of the city and castle of Alicant; and at the same time meditated a design upon Cadiz: nor was it his fault that both did not succeed; for he did every thing that could be expected from

from him, in order to render these important designs successful.

After his return from this expedition, in 1710, he was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral ; in which post he continued till some time before the queen's death ; when, not falling in with the measures of these times, he was removed ; but, on the accession of George I. he was restored to that employment ; and, in the year 1715, on the breaking out of the rebellion, appointed to command a squadron in the Downs ; with which he kept such a watchful eye on the French coast, and seized such a great quantity of arms and ammunition shipped there for the pretender's service, that his majesty, to reward his services, created him a baronet, presented him with a ring of great value, and gave him other marks of his royal favour.

In the year 1717, he was sent with a squadron into the Baltic, on discovering that Charles XII. had formed a design of making a descent upon England ; the particulars of which we think unnecessary to be here mentioned.

We are now to enter upon the most remarkable scene of action our admiral was ever concerned in, and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himself and the British flag. This was the famous expedition of the British fleet to Sicily in the year 1718, for the

the protection of the neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the emperor's possessions against the invasion of the Spaniards, who had the year before surprized Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily.

He sailed from Spithead about the middle of June, 1718, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. This Squadron arrived, on the first of August, in the bay of Naples, into which the fleet standing with a gentle gale, drawn up in a line of battle, most of them capital ships, and three of them carrying flags, afforded such a spectacle as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation; the shore was crowded with multitudes of spectators, and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity and admiration, that the bay was covered with them.

The viceroy, count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having sent his compliments to the admiral, he went on shore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats; and was saluted at his landing by all the cannon round the city and castles; and was conducted to the court through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies usually paid to a viceroy of that kingdom.

Here the admiral entered into a conference with count Daun; from whom he learned, that

that the Spanish army, consisting of thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed on the second of July in Sicily, and had soon made themselves masters of the city and castles of Palermo, and of great part of the island; that they had taken the town of Messina, and were carrying on the siege of the citadel, &c.

After the conference, the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception.

The next morning they had another conference, on the measures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the viceroy should send two thousand German foot, in tertans, to Messina, to relieve the citadel and fort St. Salvador, under the protection of the English fleet; which accordingly sailed on the sixth of August from Naples, and arrived on the ninth in sight of the Foro of Messina.

Here the admiral, desirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, dispatched his first captain with orders to Messina, with a letter to the marquis de Lede; wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was sent there, he proposed a cessation of arms for two months, that their respective courts might have time to conclude such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace; but added, that, if he was not

so happy as to succeed in this offer of his service, he should then be obliged to use all his force, to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend.

The general returned for answer, That he had no powers to treat; and, consequently, could not agree to a suspension of arms, but must follow his orders, which directed him to seize upon Sicily for his master the king of Spain.

According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conceive, that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel: but, as he stood about the point of the Faro of Messina, he saw two Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca, which came from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by; the admiral altered his design, and, sending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their's; which accordingly they did; for, before noon, he had a fair view of their whole fleet lying by, and

drawn into a line of battle ; which the admiral followed, and soon after came up with.

The consequence was, that he engaged and entirely ruined them, while captain Watson did the same by the other part of the fleet, which stood in for the Sicilian shore.

In 1719, Sir George, as soon as the whole fleet was joined, dispatched his eldest son to England ; who arriving at Hampton court in fifteen days, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported ; namely, the entire defeat of the Spanish fleet ; and upon which the king had written a letter to the admiral with his own hand.

In the mean time, the admiral prosecuted his affairs with great diligence ; procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily ; brought their Sicilian galleys from Malta ; and soon after received a letter from the emperor, written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with large diamonds, as a mark of the services which had been rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

Early in the spring, the admiral returned to Naples ; where he adjusted every thing with the viceroy and the German general for the reduction of Sicily ; in which he acted with such zeal and success, that the Imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with

with all necessaries from the fleet, that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral as the German general; and, that the English fleet did not less service than the Imperial army.

It was entirely owing to the admiral's advice, and to his assistance and supplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ships, that the Germans retook the city of Messina, in the summer of the year 1719; after which the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who soon made themselves masters of the tower of Faro; by which having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise-road. This was a step of great consequence; for the officers of the Spanish men of war, which were in the mole, perceiving this, began to despair of getting out to sea, and unbent their sails, unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the admiral great satisfaction, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other service, which had for a long while been employed in blocking up that port.

But, while things were in this prosperous situation, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of the Spanish ships, when, after the citadel was taken, they should fall of course into their hands. This dispute was happily ended by the admiral's proposing

to erect a battery, and destroy them, as they lay in the basin; which was done accordingly, and thereby the ruin of Spain completed.

The admiral, in order to succeed in the reduction of Sicily, and, at the same time, to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, went over to Naples in August; and finding that the government was unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he generously granted the cannon out of the British prizes; and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own risque, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily; which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely by his incredible labour and diligence, and in spite of the delays affected by the count (afterwards bashaw) Bonneval, who was appointed to command them.

Our admiral was received with great honour and respect at Genoa. At his arrival, the town saluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his person with ten guns and twenty chambers; and the republic sent off six deputies, three of the old and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival.

After a stay of about three weeks, he sailed with all the transports to Sicily, and arrived before Messina on the eighth of October; which so elevated the spirits of the army, then besieging the citadel, that, upon the first sight
of

of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half-moon, and carried it. The admiral, repairing ashore to the general's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the most tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to see a man who brought them relief and success, and every good that attended them.

In ten days after the admiral's arrival at Messina, the citadel surrendered to the Germans: after which Sir George re embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island; by which means they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the marquis de Lede, commander of the Spanish forces, proposed to evacuate the island; which the Germans were very desirous of agreeing to, and sent to Vienna for instructions: but the admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded; and sent his eldest son to Vienna with instructions, if the Imperial court listened to the proposal of the Spanish general, to declare, that his father could never suffer any part of the Spanish army to depart out of the island, till the king of Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received positive instructions from England for that purpose. In this, Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral; who, after having done so many ser-

vices for the Imperialists, might surely insist on their doing what was just in respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna.

After this, the Spanish general laid a snare to separate the admiral from the Germans, by proposing an agreement with him for a separate cessation of hostilities, but without effect. But soon after, when the Germans, with the assistance of the admiral, had begun the siege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay incamped; and just as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky instant from Spain, with full powers for the Spanish general to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in consequence of the king of Spain's acceding to the quadruple alliance: upon which, the two armies were drawn off; a suspension of arms agreed on; the Germans put into possession of Palermo; and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona.

The admiral, after he had settled all affairs in Sicily, sailed in August, 1720, to Cagliari, in Sardinia; where he assisted at the conferences of the ministers and generals of the several powers concerned; wherein was regulated the manner of surrendering the island by the Spanish viceroy to the emperor, and the cession of the same to the duke of Savoy; and, at
the

the instance of this prince, the admiral did not depart, till he had seen the whole fully executed ; the Spanish troops landed in Spain ; and the duke of Savoy put into quiet possession of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the quadruple alliance : in all which affairs the admiral arbitrated so equally between them, that even the king of Spain expressed his entire satisfaction in his conduct to the British court : and his behaviour was so acceptable to the duke of Savoy, that his sincere acknowledgments to him were accompanied with his picture set in diamonds.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the British fleet bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations ; both agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been subdued, without it. Never was any service conducted, in all its parts, with greater zeal, activity, and judgment ; nor was ever the British flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of Europe.

His majesty, king George I. who had named the admiral for that expedition, used to say to his ministers, when they applied for instructions to be sent him for his direction on certain important occasions, That he would send him none, for he knew how to act without any ; and, indeed, all the measures that he took abroad were so exact and just, as to

square with the councils and plan of policy at home.

Thus have we given an account of this famous expedition; and, by a bare recital of facts, without further enquiries, shewn how well Sir George Byng executed his instructions; for in this consists the merit of an admiral, and for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of these instructions. If this be not granted, we must never expect to be well served at sea; since the admiral, who takes upon him to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his conduct, be it what it will; and, if this be once granted, Sir George Byng must be allowed to have done his duty as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing, that Sicily was subdued, and his catholic majesty forced to accept the terms prescribed him by the quadruple alliance. He it was, that first engaged the Germans to set foot in that island, even after the taking of Messina. The cause of the emperor being become the cause of his master, he served the interest of that prince with such zeal and fidelity as exhibited a pattern to his own subjects. He lived in such harmony with the Imperial viceroys and generals, as has been seldom seen among fellow-subjects united in command; the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing duty in a cold or negligent manner; and, when
any

any service was committed to his management, he devoted his whole application to it; nor could any fatigue, or indisposition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required present dispatch. To this it might be in a great measure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miscarried in any service intrusted to his direction; for, whoever will trace public or private events to their source, will find, except where the immediate finger of Providence is visible, that what is ascribed to chance, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon solid principles, and left nothing to fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application. His firmness and plain-dealing to those foreigners who treated with him upon business, was such, that it contributed greatly to the dispatch and success of his transactions with them; for they could depend upon what he said: and, as they saw he used no arts or chicanes himself, and had too discerning an eye to suffer them to pass unobserved in others, they often found it their best policy to leave their interests in his hands and to his management; being certain of a most impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was so thoroughly established in this particular, that, in the frequent disputes and altercations, that arose between the Savoyards and Germans, during the course of the war, and be-

tween the latter and the Spaniards at the conclusion of it, he was the common umpire between them; always shunning and opposing any extravagant or unjust demands; and reconciling, as much as possible, the violences of war with the rules of honour and justice.

After the performing so many signal services the admiral departed from Italy to attend his majesty to Hanover; and the king, among many other gracious expressions of favour and satisfaction, told him, That he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; and, that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgments, his fair and friendly behaviour in the provision of transports, and other necessaries, for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexatious oppressions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with such talents, and such a disposition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts, the character of a great soldier, an able statesman, and an honest man.

During his majesty's stay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent services of Sir George Byng, by making him treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great-Britain; and, on his return to England, one of his most honourable privy-council.

In the year 1721, he was created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of viscount Torrington, and baron Byng, of Southill, in Devonshire:

vonshire: and, in 1725, he was made one of the knights of the Bath.

At his late majesty's accession to the throne, he was made first commissioner of the admiralty; in which high station he breathed his last, at his house in the Admiralty, of an asthma, in June, 1733, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried at Southill, in Bedfordshire.

His lordship was but of a tender constitution, though well supplied with spirits, which were not so conspicuous in gaiety of conversation, as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or business, in which he was indefatigable; and, by a continual habit of industry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally strong, to patience and fatigue.

He had made no great proficiency in school-learning, which the early age of going to sea rarely admits of; but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negotiations and commissions, with proper dignity and address.

During the time he presided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval power of this kingdom; in procuring encouragement for seamen, who in him lost a true friend; in promoting the scheme for establishing a corporation for the relief of widows and children of commission and warrant officers in the royal navy; and in every other service to his country that he was capable of.

He married, in 1692, Margaret, daughter of James Master, of East-Landen, in Kent, esq. by whom he had eleven sons and four daughters; but only three of the former, and one of the latter, survived him.



THE LIFE OF

ALEXANDER POPE.

ALEXANDER POPE, a much admired poet, was descended of a good family by both parents; and born on the eighth of June, 1688, in London, where his father was then a considerable merchant.

We are obliged for the account of Mr. Pope's family to the satires that were made upon him; in answer to which, he thought proper to publish the following short genealogy:

That Alexander Pope, his father, was of a gentleman's family in Oxfordshire; the head of which was the earl of Downe, in Ireland, whose sole heiress married the earl of Lindsey. His mother was Editha, the daughter of William Turner, esq. of York: she had three brothers; one of whom was killed; another died in the service of king Charles I. and the eldest following his fortune, and becoming a general officer in Spain, left her what estate remained after the sequestrations and forfeitures of her family; which, as well as that of her husband, was of the Popish religion.

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He was taught to read very early by an aunt, and he learned to write without any assistance, by copying printed books; which he executed with great neatness and exactness. He was put, at eight years of age, under the direction of one Taverner, a priest, who taught him the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues together. He imbibed these elements of classical learning with the greatest facility, and, on first seeing the poets, discovered at once, both the peculiar bent of his inclination, and the excellency of his genius.

About this time accidentally meeting with Ogilby's translation of Homer, he was so much struck with the force of the story, that, notwithstanding the deadness and insipidness of the versification, Ogilby became a favourite book. The Ovid of Sandys fell next in his way; and, it is said, that the raptures these translations gave him were so strong, that he spoke of them with pleasure all his life after.

From his private tutor he was sent to a popish seminary at Twyford, near Winchester; whence he was removed to school at Hyde-park corner.

He was now about ten years of age, and, being carried sometimes to the play-house, the sight of those theatrical representations put him upon turning the chief events of Homer into a kind of play, made up of a number of speeches from Ogilby's translation, connected
by

by verses of his own. He perswaded the upper boys to act this piece; a curiosity which one would have been glad to have seen. The master's gardener represented the character of Ajax, and the actors were dressed after the prints of his favourite Ogilby; which indeed make far the best part of that book, being designed and engraved by artists of note.

In the mean time, he was so unfortunate as to lose, under his two last masters, what he had acquired by the first. In this condition, at twelve years of age, he retired with his parents to Binfield, in Windsor forest, where his father had provided a convenient little box, not far from Oakingham, in Berkshire; and, at his first coming, 'tis said, was put under another priest for a few months, but with as little success as before; so that he resolved to become his own master. This country retreat, however, suited his melancholy and reflective temper; and it was about this time that he wrote his Ode on Solitude, which appears as the first-fruits of his poetical genius.

It was here too that he first perused the writings of Waller, of Spenser, and of Dryden; but, on the first sight of Dryden, he abandoned the rest, having now found an author whose cast was extremely congenial with his own. After he met with this favourite's works, he was never easy till he had seen the author; and, for that purpose, he procured a friend to bring him to a coffee-house where
Dry-

Dryden was, only that he might be blessed with the sight of that great poet.

This could not have been long before Mr. Dryden's death, which happened in 1701; so that Mr. Pope was never known to him: a misfortune which he laments in the following pathetic words:

“ Virgilium tantum vidi.”

He never mentioned him afterwards without a kind of rapturous veneration. Thus, for instance, having run over the names of his great friends and encouragers, he concludes with the person whom he esteemed above all the rest, in the following distich:

And St. John's self, great Dryden's friend before,
 fore,

With open arms received one poet more.

His works therefore he studied with equal pleasure and attention; he placed them before his eyes as a model: in short, he copied not only his harmonious versification, but the very turns of his periods: and hence it was that he became enabled to give to rhyme all the harmony of which it is capable.

Binfield being near Easthamstead, where Sir William Trumbull then resided, our young genius was introduced into the acquaintance of that gentleman; who, being struck with admiration

admiration at his extraordinary parts, and pleased with his good sense, as well as the decency and regularity of his manners, gave him great encouragement, and presently admitted him to a share of his friendship.

In the mean time, master Pope was not wanting to himself in improving his talents for poetry : at fourteen years old he had composed several elegant pieces that way : at fifteen, he had acquired a ready habit in the two learned languages ; and to which he soon after added French and Italian.

It is a common observation, that some seeds of vanity and self-conceit are necessary ingredients in the composition of a poet ; accordingly our author was not without a proper share of these qualities, and now thought himself capable of undertaking an epic poem. In that spirit, he set about writing his *Alcander* this year ; and the performance, as might be expected, was a glaring proof of his childish folly. However, he had either sense or modesty enough, or both, to keep it in his study ; and in his riper years spoke of it with a frankness and ingenuity that does more than atone for the forwardness of his attempt.

“ I confess,” says he, “ there was a time when I was in love with myself ; and my first productions were the children of self-love upon innocence. I had made an epic poem and panegyrics upon all the princes, and I thought myself

myself the greatest genius that ever was. I cannot but regret these delightful visions of my childhood, which, like the fine colours we see when our eyes are shut, are vanished for ever."

In the following year, 1704, he entered upon a task more suitable to his age. This was his Pastorals, which brought him into the acquaintance of some of the most eminent wits of that time. He communicated these first to Mr. Wycherley, who was highly pleased with them, and sent a copy to Mr. Walsh, gentleman of the horse to queen Anne, and author of several ingenious pieces, both in prose and verse.

This introduced him to the acquaintance of that gentleman, who proved a very sincere friend to him; and having immediately discerned that our poet's chief talent lay not so much in striking out new thoughts of his own, as in improving those which he borrowed from the antients, and an easy versification, told him, among other things, that there was one way left open for him to excel his predecessors, and that was correctness; observing, that, though we had several great poets, yet none of them were correct: he therefore advised him to make that his study.

The advice was not lost: Mr. Pope received it very gratefully, and observed it very diligently, as appears by the subsequent letters

ters in this correspondence ; and no doubt the distinguishing harmony of his numbers was in a great measure owing to it.

This year, 1704, he wrote also the first part of his *Windfor-Forest*, though the whole was not published till several years afterwards, in 1710, with a dedication to lord Lansdowne, whom he mentions as one of his earliest acquaintance. Mr. Wycherley was another. To these, besides Bolingbroke and Walsh, he adds Congreve, Garth, Swift, Atterbury, Talbot, Somers, and Sheffield, as persons with whom he was not only conversant, but beloved, at sixteen or seventeen years of age ; an early bard for such acquaintance ; and the catalogue might be made yet more illustrious, had he not confined it to the time when he wrote the *Pastorals* and *Windfor-Forest*.

The circumstance of our author's writing the first part of this poem so early as 1704, furnishes no bad apology for the general fault charged upon it ; few images, it is said, are introduced, which are not equally applicable to any place whatsoever. It is true, descriptive poetry, of which kind is this piece, was manifestly none of the shining talents of Pope ; but, when it is remembered, that he pitched upon a description of *Windfor-Forest*, then the place of his abode, at sixteen, an age for which this kind of poetry has the greatest charms, it may as truly be said, that he could not then be sensible which way the chief force of his genius lay ; and this may more particularly .

ticularly be insisted on by all who have taken notice of what our poet hath said of this poem in an epistle to Dr. Atterbury,

While pure description held the place of sense.

(It is allowed that he breaks out into a true poetical enthusiasm more than once, and particularly in the conclusion ; and there was indeed a circumstance which, no doubt, strongly animated his muse in that part. The peace, afterwards concluded at Utrecht, was this year, 1710, projected by his particular friends Harley and St. John, who were now at the head of the ministry. Accordingly, we find the influences and effects of peace, and its consequence, a diffusive commerce, marked by select circumstances, such as are best adapted to strike the imagination by lively pictures, the selection of which constitutes true poetry. At the close of all, there appears a groupe of allegorical personages, in the rear of which stand the following figures, painted in living colours, with their proper insignia and attributes.

----- Envy her own snakes shall feel,
And persecution mourn her broken wheel ;
There faction roar, rebellion bite her chain,
And gasping furies thirst for blood in vain.

It is said, that,

“ Addison

“ Addison was inexpressibly chagrined at this noble conclusion of Windsor-Forest, both as a politician and as a poet. As a politician, because it so highly celebrated that treaty of peace, which he deemed so pernicious to the liberties of Europe ; and as a poet, because he was deeply conscious, that his own Campaigne, that Gazette in rhyme, contained no strokes of such genuine and sublime poetry as the conclusion before.”

No part of our bard's life is more interesting than that of his conduct in cultivating friendships, especially with his brother poets. At the age of eighteen, he was grown so high in the esteem of Wycherley, that he thought him capable of correcting his poems, (which had been damned) so as they might appear again in print. Pope complied with the request, and executed it with equal freedom and judgment. But the faults proved too many for the author of them to be told of ; he was old, became jealous, and construed his young master's ingenuity, and plain dealing, into want of respect. Not only the design of publishing was dropped, but all correspondence with the corrector suspended.

This ungenerous resentment was lively resented by Pope ; and, though Wycherley prevailed with afterwards, by the mediation of a common friend, to resume the correspondence, yet this went no farther than bare complaisance.

plaisance. However, some time after Mr. Wycherley's death, his poems being republished by some mercenary hand, in 1728, our author, the following year, printed several letters that had passed between them, in vindication of Mr. Wycherley's good name, against some misconstructions prefixed to that edition.

Our poet's conduct, throughout this whole trying affair, was greatly above his years; but, young as he was, his talents were now beginning to ripen into full maturity. This appeared conspicuously in his Essay on Criticism; which, though wrote so early as 1708, yet placed him among those of the first rank in his art. It is indeed esteemed a masterpiece in it's kind, and so discovered the peculiar turn of his genius. He was not yet twenty years old, so that every body stood amazed to find such a knowledge of the world, such a maturity of judgment, and such a penetration into human nature, as are there displayed; insomuch that it became a subject for the critics to display their profoundest skill in accounting for it. The greatest geniuses in painting, as well as poetry, were generally observed, not to have produced any of their master-pieces before the age of thirty, or thereabouts; and that Mr. Pope's genius ripened earlier, was owing, it is said, to a happy conjuncture of concurring circumstances. He was happily secured from falling into the debaucheries of women and wine (the too frequent

quent bane of hopeful youth) by the weakness and delicacy of his constitution, and the bad state of his health. The sensual vices were too violent for so tender a frame, he never fell into intemperance or dissipation, which is of the greatest consequence in preserving each faculty of the mind in due vigour. Even his misshapen figure is alledged to have been of use to him as a writer.

It is an observation of lord Bacon, that whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that induces contempt, hath also a perpetual spur within to rescue and deliver himself from it. Hence it has been thought not improbable that our poet might be animated by this circumstance to double his diligence, to make himself distinguished by the rectitude of his understanding, and beautiful turn of mind, as much as he was by the deformity of his body. This remark is thought to receive some countenance from our author himself in the following lines :

What crops of wit and honesty appear,
From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear :
See anger, zeal, and fortitude supply ;
Ev'n avarice, prudence ; sloth, philosophy ;
Nor virtue, male or female, can we name,
But what will grow on pride, or grow on
shame.

It is certain that he strictly fulfilled the precept of Horace in each particular, *Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit & alfit.*

It was another circumstance, equally propitious to the studies of Pope, in this early part of his, that he inherited a fortune that was a decent competency, and sufficient to supply the small expences which, both by constitution and reflection, he required. This he preserved from the two most destructive enemies to a young genius, want and dependance. Nor was the circumstance of being placed beneath opulence, and an high station, less propitious; since these almost unavoidably embarrass and immerse the possessor in the cares, the pleasures, the indolence, and the dissipation, that accompany abundance. Thus it is conceived, that these external aids, as so many auxiliaries, assisting the native inborn strength of our poet's genius, had their share in this triumphant production.

But how triumphant soever may be the merit of the Essay on Criticism, yet it was still surpassed, in a poetical view, by the Rape of the Lock. The former indeed excelled in the didactic way, for which he was peculiarly formed; a clear head and strong sense were his characteristical qualities; his chief force lay in the understanding, rather than in the imagination: but it is the creative power of the last that constitutes the proper characteristic of poetry; and therefore it is in the Rape of the Lock that Pope principally appears a poet; since in this performance he has displayed more imagination than in all his other works put together.

The

The poem took its birth from an incidental quarrel that happened between two noble families, that of lord Petre and Mrs. Fermor, both of our author's acquaintance, and of the same religion. His lordship, in a party of pleasure, carried it so far as to cut off a favourite lock of the lady's hair. This, tho' done in the way of gallantry, was seriously resented, as being indeed a real injury. Hence there presently grew mutual animosities, which being seen with concern by a common friend to all, that friend requested Pope to try the power of his muse on the occasion; intimating, that a proper piece of ridicule was the likeliest means to extinguish the rising flame. Pope readily complied with this friendly proposal, and, the juncture requiring dispatch, his first design was compleated in less than a fortnight; which being sent to the lady, had more than the proposed effect. Pleased to the highest degree with the delicacy of the compliment paid to her, she first communicated copies of it to her acquaintance, and then prevailed with our author to print it: as he did, though not without the caution of concealing his name to so hasty a sketch. But the universal applause which the sketch met with, put him upon enriching it with the machinery of the sylphs; and in that new dress, the two cantoes extended to five, came out the following year, 1712, ushered by a letter to Mrs. Fermor, to whom he afterwards addressed another, which is esteemed far superior to any of *Voiture*.

The insertion of the machinery in proper places, as it is done without the least appearance of being awkwardly stitched in, so it was always esteemed by Pope himself, as an effort of his greatest skill and art as a poet; and I have always esteemed the letter above-mentioned to Mrs. Fermor, as the most engaging effort of his skill and art as a letter-writer. But let the reader judge.

“ To Mrs. Arabella Fermor, after her marriage.

“ Madam,

“ YOU are sensible, by this time, how much the tenderness of one man of merit, is to be preferred to the addresses of a thousand; and by this time the gentleman you have made choice of, is sensible, how great is the joy of having all those charms and good qualities, which have pleased so many, now applied to please one only. It was but just, that the same virtues which gave you reputation, should give you happiness; and I can wish you no greater, than, that you may reap it to as high a degree, as so much good nature must give it to your husband.

“ It may be expected, perhaps, that one who has the title of being a wit, should say something more polite upon this occasion; but I am really more a well-wisher to your felicity, than a celebrater of your beauty. Besides, you are now a married woman, and in a fine way

to

to be a great many better things than a fine lady; such as, an excellent wife, a faithful friend, a tender parent, and, at last, as the consequence of them all, a saint in Heaven. You ought now to hear nothing, but that which is all that you ever desired to hear, (whatever others have spoken to you) I mean truth; and it is with the utmost that I assure you, no friend you have, can more rejoice in any good that befalls you, is more sensibly delighted with the prospect of your future happiness, or more unfeignedly desires a long continuance of it.

“ I hope you will think it but just, that a man, who will certainly be spoken of as your admirer after he is dead, may have the happiness, while he is living, to be esteemed,

“ Your, &c.”

Here Pope appears the man of gallantry, good-nature, and a thorough knowledge of the world. This letter is sometimes annexed to the poem not injudiciously, as rendering the entertainment compleat in the happy marriage of the heroine.

This year he also published his *Temple of Fame*; having, according to his usual caution, kept it two years in his study. That object of the universal passion was full upon his thoughts at this time; he had been, from the first setting out, in full stretch after it, and saw it now within his reach: accordingly, we find him

in high spirits, diverting himself with the ladies, to one of whom he sent a copy of his Temple, with an humorous gay epigram, which he introduces in the following words :

“ Now I talk of Fame, I send you my Temple of Fame, which is just come out ; but my sentiments about it you will see much better by this epigram.

What's fame with men, by custom of the nation,
Is call'd, in women, only reputation :
About them both why keep we such a pother,
Part you with one, and I'll renounce the other.”

A couplet in the same taste had slipped into the Rape of the Lock.

Oh ! hadst thou, cruel, been content to seize
Hairs less in fight, or any hairs but these.

Some of the fair-sex taking offence, as it is said, to these lines, occasioned the two following ; wherein that delicacy is handled very roughly, as being no better than a mere affected piece of prudery.

Who censure most, more precious hairs would lose,
To have the Rape recorded by his muse:

In a passage of the letter which accompanied this epigram, it appears, that he had now begun to translate Homer's Iliad, and made a good progress in it; and, in 1713, he gave out proposals for publishing that translation by subscription.

He had been pressed to this undertaking some years before by some of his friends, and was now greatly encouraged in the design by others. His religious principles disqualified him from receiving any solid testimony of his merit, in the usual way, of a place at court. Common prudence therefore prompted him to make the best advantage he could of the reputation he had obtained in his trade, and try to raise an independent fortune by it. And the success was such, as must needs answer, if not exceed, his most sanguine expectations; he acquired a considerable fortune, by a subscription so large, that it does honour to the kingdom. He saw all parties and denominations join in it, notwithstanding the underhand practices of some pretended friends, who in vain opposed the stream. At the head of these was found Mr. Addison.

Our author had long paid an awful veneration to that rival; the consciousness of which, served to set a keener edge upon his resentment now. But, though the sense of so much treachery and falsehood tingled in every vein, yet he managed it with the nicest prudence, and at last revenged it with a satire which does honour to himself.

The several steps of his conducting this very critical affair may be seen in his letters on this occasion, to which the reader who has not perused them, will thank us for referring him. We shall only observe, in general, that, among other contemptibly mean artifices made use of by Addison, to suppress the rising merit and fame of his rival; it appears from these letters, that he discouraged Pope from inserting the machinery in the Rape of the Lock; that, to hurt him with the Whigs, he industriously gave it out, that Pope was a Tory and a Jacobite; and said that he had a hand in writing the Examiners. That Addison himself translated the first book of Homer's Iliad, published under Tickell's name; which he declared, after Pope's was printed, was still the best that had ever been done in any language. And, last of all, he privately encouraged Gildon to abuse Pope in a virulent pamphlet, and gave him ten guineas for the performance. In short, this was the most dangerous attack that Pope ever experienced. How much then does it raise the character of his parts and prudence, that he was able absolutely to defeat it, and even to break these darts, which envy and malignity had forged against him, upon the head of the forger.

Thus, with admirable temper and spirit, he preserved his dignity; and, keeping his mind attentive to every means that might render his translation more perfect, he took a journey, a little before the death of queen Anne, to Oxford;

ford ; to consult some books in the Bodleian and other libraries in that university ; and the first part of his translation was published the following year.

This gave great satisfaction, so that his finances were now put in such a flourishing state, that he resolved to place himself nearer his friends in the capital. In that view, the small affair at Binfield being sold, he purchased a house at Twickenham, whither he removed with his father and mother before the expiration of this year, 1715. He calls this one of the grand æras of his days ; and the taste he displayed in improving the seat, became the general vogue.

While he was employed in this delightful work, he could not forbear doubling the pleasure he took in it by communicating it to his friends.

“ The young ladies,” says he, in a letter to Mr. Blount, “ may be assured, that I make nothing new in my gardens, without wishing to see them print their fairy steps in every corner of them. I have put the last hand to my works of this kind, in happily finishing the subterraneous way” (from his house to his garden, under the high-road which separated them) “ and grotto. I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes thro’ the cavern day and night. From the river Thames you see thro’

my arch, up a walk of the wilderness, to a kind of open temple, wholly composed of shells, in the rustic manner; and from that distance, under the temple you look down thro' a sloping arcade of trees, and see sails on the river suddenly appearing and vanishing as through a perspective glass. When you shut the door of this grotto, it becomes, on the instant, from a luminous room, a camera obscura : on the wall of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats, are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations; and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different scene. It is finished with shells, interspersed with pieces of looking-glass in angular forms; and in the cieling is a star of the same materials; at which, when a lamp of an orbicular figure, of thin alabaster, is hung in the middle, a thousand pointed rays glitter and are reflected over the place. There are connected to this grotto, by a narrower passage, two porches, one towards the river, of smooth stones, full of light and open; the other towards the garden, shadowed with trees, and rough with shells, flints, and iron ores. The bottom is paved with simple pebble, as is also the adjoining walk up the wilderness to the temple, in the natural taste, agreeing not ill with the little dripping murmur and the aquatic idea of the whole place. It wants nothing to complete it but a good statue, with an inscription like that beautiful

teous picturesque one, which you know I am so fond of.

Hujus nymp̄ha loci, sacri custodia fontis,
 Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ :
 Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora,
 somnum
 Rumpere ; seu bibas, five lavere, tace.

Nymph of the grott, these sacred springs I
 keep,
 And to the murmur of these waters sleep.
 Ah ! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
 And drink in silence, or in silence lave.

“ You’ll think I have been very poetical in this description, but ’tis pretty nearly the truth.”

This letter was wrote in 1725 : he afterwards wrote a poem upon it in a peculiar cast and kind : and Mr. Warburton informs us, that the improving this grotto was the favourite amusement of his declining years ; so that, not long before his death, by enlarging and incrusting it about with a vast number of ores and minerals of the richest and rarest kinds, he had made it one of the most elegant and romantic retirements that is any where to be seen.

“ And,” adds that writer, “ the beauty of his poetic genius, in the disposition and ornaments

ments of those romantic materials, appeared to as much advantage as in any of his best contrived poems."

His father survived this removal only two years, dying suddenly, after a very healthy life, at the age of seventy-five. He was buried by his son at Twickenham, who erected a handsome monument to his memory, with an inscription celebrating his innocence, probity, and piety. As he was a Papist, he could not purchase, nor put his money to interest on real security; and, as he adhered to the interest of king James, he made it a point of conscience, not to lend it to the new government; so that, though he was worth near twenty thousand pounds, when he left off business, from the same principles, at the revolution; yet afterwards living upon the stock, he left our poet to the management of so narrow a fortune, that any one false step would have been fatal.

This rigidity of the old gentleman's jacobite principles betrays an uncommon degree of bigotted weakness, which it was the son's care, as much as possible, to keep out of sight. This was a part of prudence, as well as piety, and we find him throwing a veil over it more than once.

For right hereditary tax'd and fin'd,
He stuck to poverty with peace of mind.

—————What.

———What fortune, pray? Their own ;
 And better got than Bestia's from the throne.
 Born to no pride, inheriting no strife,
 Nor marrying discord in a noble wife :
 Stranger to civil and religious rage,
 The good man walk'd innocuous thro' his
 age :

No courts he saw, no suits would ever try ;
 Nor dar'd an oath, nor hazarded a lye.
 Unlearn'd, he knew no school-man's subtle
 art ;

No language, but the language of the heart:
 By nature honest, by experience wise ;
 Healthy by temperance and by exercise.
 His life, tho' long, to sickness past unknown ;
 His death was instant, and without a groan.

The old gentleman had sometimes recommended to our author, in his earliest years, the study of physic, as the best means of repairing that waste of the substance which from his own principles was rendered unavoidable. But this must have gone no farther than a simple proposal, since we are assured by the son that he broke no duty, nor disobeyed either parent, in following the trade of a poet ; and his father had the satisfaction of living long enough to see him in a sure way of making a genteel fortune by it.

In verity, want of a due attention to this necessary point was none of our poet's weakness ; on the contrary, we find him taking all

opportunities to push it to the utmost. In this spirit, not satisfied with the golden tide that was continually flowing in from his translation, he published, in 1717, a collection of all the poetical pieces he had wrote before; in which the regard to his fortune had undeniably a considerable share. He proceeded in the same spirit to give a new edition of Shakespear; which being published in '1721, discovered that he had consulted his fortune in the undertaking more than his fame.

The Iliad being finished, he engaged upon the like footing to undertake the Odyssey; and that work being compleated in 1725, the following year was employed, in concert with his associates, Dean Swift and Dr. Arbuthnot, in printing several volumes of Miscellanies.

About this time, he narrowly escaped losing his life as he was returning home in a friend's chariot; which, on passing a bridge, happened to be overturned, and thrown with the horses into the river. The glasses were up, and he not able to break them; so that he was in immediate danger of drowning, when the postillion, who had just recovered himself, came to his relief; broke the glass which was uppermost, took him out, and carried him to the bank; but a fragment of the broken glass cut one of his hands so desperately, that he lost the use of two of his fingers.

He had now made such a fence about his fortune, as put it out of danger; and the like fence, which he had been long labouring to

set about his fame, being finished in the *Dunciad*, that satire came out, in the year 1727, in 4to.

He somewhere observes, That the life of an author is a state of warfare; and he has, in this attack, or, rather, series of attacks, shewed himself a complete general in the art of this kind of war. *Fabius cunctando*, &c. Our poet bore the insults of his enemies full ten years before he hazarded a general battle; he was all that while climbing the hills of Parnassus; during which, he could not forbear some slight skirmishes; and the success of these was of use, in shewing him his superior strength, and thereby adding confidence to his courage, but he was now seated safely on the summit: besides, he had obtained what, in his own opinion, is the happiest end of life, the love of valuable men; and the next felicity, he declares, was to get rid of fools and scoundrels: to which end, after having, by several affected marches and counter-marches, brought the whole army of them into his power, he suddenly fell upon them with a power as irresistible as the sword of Michael the arch-angel; and made an absolutely universal slaughter of them, suffering not a single soul to escape his fury.

The poem cautiously made its first appearance, as a masked-battery, in Ireland; nor, indeed, was the triumph completed without the assistance of our author's undoubted second, Dean Swift, who, having furnished it with some

some exquisitely wrought artillery, in that pompous figure it made a new appearance, printed at London in 1728.

This edition was presented to the king and queen, by Sir Robert Walpole; who probably at this time offered to procure Mr. Pope a pension; which he refused with the same spirit as he had formerly done to an offer of the same kind made him by the lord Hallifax; which spirit of our author in declining this offer of Sir Robert's seems to be expressed in a letter of his, about this time, to his friend Dean Swift.

“ I was once before,” says he, “ displeased at you for complaining to Mr. ----- of my not having a pension; I am so again, at your naming it to a certain lord. I have given proof, in the course of my life, from the time when I was in the friendship of lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Craggs, even to this time when I am civilly treated by Sir Robert Walpole, that I never thought myself so warm in any party's cause, as to deserve their money, and therefore would never have accepted it. I desire you to take off any impressions which that dialogue may have left upon his lordship's mind, as if I ever had any thoughts of being beholden to him, or any other, in that way.”

One of the proofs here intimated, was the refusal he had given, many years before, to
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an offer of the same kind by lord Hallifax ; as appears by a letter to that lord as early as the year 1714 ; where he writes in these terms :

“ My Lord,

“ I AM obliged to you, both for the favours you have done me, and for those you intend me. I distrust neither your will, nor your memory, when it is to do good ; and, if ever I become troublesome or solicitous, it must not be out of expectation, but out of gratitude. It is, indeed, a high strain of generosity in you, to think of making me easy all my life, only because I have been so happy as to divert you a few hours ; but, if I may have leave to add, it is because you think me no enemy to my native country, there will appear a better reason ; for I must of consequence be very much, as I sincerely am,

“ Yours, &c.”

It is also well known, that Mr. Craggs, in 1710, gave him a subscription for one hundred pounds in the South-Sea, of which he made no manner of use.

As these offers must be understood to be made in the view of taking him off from his attachments to his friends, his refusal of them are so many illustrious proofs of his steadiness in that point. Yet he declares, in a letter to

Dr.

Dr. Swift, that he had personal obligations, which he would ever preserve, to men of different sides.

In 1729, our poet, in the view of setting yet another fence about his fortune, purchased an annuity of one hundred pounds for his own life, that of his mother being likewise included.

The same year, by the advice of lord Bolingbroke, he turned his pen to subjects of morality; and accordingly we find him, with the assistance of that friend, at work this year upon his Essay on Man. The following extract of a letter to Dean Swift, discovers the reason of his lordship's advice.

"Bid him [Pope] talk to you of the work he is about, I hope in good earnest; it is a fine one, and will be in his hands an original. His sole complaint is, that he finds it too easy in the execution. This flatters his laziness. It flatters my judgment; who always thought, that, universal as his talents are, this is eminently, and peculiarly, his, above all the writers I know, living or dead; I do not except Horace."

Pope tells the dean, in the next letter, what this work was.

"The work he [Bolingbroke] speaks of with such abundant partiality, is a system of Ethics, in the Horatian way."

In

In another letter, written probably in the entrance of the following year, we see the general aim which, at least, he wished might be attributed to this work.

“ I am just now writing, or rather planning a book to bring mankind to look upon this life with comfort and pleasure ; and put morality in good humour.”

This subject was exactly suited to his genius; he found the performance easy to a degree that surprized himself, and he thereupon employed his leisure hours in pursuing the same design in his *Ethic Epistles*, which came out separately in the course of the two following years. But a great clamour was raised against the Fourth of these Epistles, addressed to lord Bolingbroke, upon Taste ; and the character of Timon in it gave great offence. The description, it is said, was too plain not to be known who was pointed at ; and the late duke of Chandois it is said wrote to our author in such a manner as made him sensible, that he ought to have confined himself to a made character.

Mr. Pope, we are told, began to wish he had not carried the matter so far, but there was no receding ; all he could do was to palliate the business ; and this was done in a letter by Mr. Cleland to Mr. Gay, in December, 1731. But this letter was not satisfactory, nor yet one he wrote to the duke professing his innocence.

All

All this while, he had the pleasure to see the Epistle sell so, that it went through the press a third time very soon. Thereupon, in high spirits, he published a letter to lord Burlington, the March following; wherein having taken notice of the clamour which, he says, through malice and mistake still continued; he expresses his resentment of this usage, disavows any design against the duke, makes him several high compliments, and then proceeds thus :

“ Certainly the writer deserved more candour, even in those who know him not, than to promote a report, which, in regard to that noble person was impertinent; in regard to me villainous.

“ I have taken,” continues he, “ an opportunity of the third edition, to declare his belief not only of my innocence, but of their malignity; of the former of which my heart is as conscious, as I fear some of theirs must be of the latter; his humanity feels a concern for the injury done to me, while his greatness of mind can bear with indifference the insult offered to himself.”

After this, he concludes with threatening to make use of real names, not fictitious ones, in his ensuing works; and how far he went into the execution of that menace, will presently be seen; for the unreasonable complaints which
were

were made against this Epistle by some secret enemies, put him upon writing satires, in which he ventured to attack the characters of some persons of high rank; and the affront was resented in such a manner, as provoked him to let loose the whole fury of his satirical rage against them, which was poured forth in prose and verse.

In the first satire of the second book of Horace, he had described lord Harvey and lady Mary Wortley Montague, so characteristically, under the names of lord Fanny and Sappho, that these two noble personages did not only take up the same weapons against the aggressor, but used all their interest among the nobility, and even with the king and queen, to hurt him.

This last injury was what Pope complained of most; and, for that reason, the letter which he wrote in answer to it was shewn to her majesty as soon as it was finished, which concludes with these words:

“ After all, your lordship will be careful not to wrong my moral character with those under whose protection I live; and through whose lenity alone I can live with comfort. Your lordship, I am confident, upon consideration, will think you inadvertently went a little too far, when you recommended to their perusal, and strengthened by the weight of your approbation, a libel mean in its reflections upon my poor figure, and scandalous in
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those upon my honour and integrity ; wherein I was represented as an enemy to human race, a murderer of reputations, a monster marked by God like Cain, deserving to wander accursed through the world. ---A strange picture of a man, who had the good fortune to enjoy many friends, who will be always remembered as the first ornament of his age and country, and no enemies that ever continued to be heard of, except Mr. John Dennis and your lordship. ---A man who never wrote a line, in which the religion or government of his country, the royal family, or their ministry, were disrespectfully mentioned ; the animosity of any one party gratified at the expence of another ; or any censure past, but upon known vices, acknowledged folly, or aggressing impertinence. It is with infinite pleasure he finds, that some men, who seem ashamed and afraid of nothing else, are so very sensible of this ridicule ; and 'tis for that very reason, he resolves, by the grace of God, and your lordship's good leave,

That, while he breathes, no rich or noble
 knave
 Shall walk the world in credit to his grave:

“ This he thinks is rendering the best service he can to the public, and even to the good government of his fellow-creatures. For this, at least, he may deserve some commendations from the greatest persons in it. Your
 lordship

lordship knows of whom I speak ---- their names I should be as sorry, and as much ashamed, to place near yours on such an occasion, as I should to see you, my lord, placed so near their persons, if you could ever make so ill an use of their ear as to asperse or misrepresent an innocent man."

Pope did not think proper to print this letter; nor yet, what is more remarkable, to communicate it to his friend Swift; to whom he excused himself in a letter, sent with his Fourth Essay on Man, and his Epistle to lord Cobham.

"There is a woman's war," says he, "declared against me by a certain lord; his weapons are the same which women and children use; a pin to scratch, and a squirt to bespatter. I writ a sort of answer, but was ashamed to enter the lists with him; and, after shewing it to some people, suppressed it: otherwise it was such as was worthy of him, and worthy of me."

He had before given that friend an account of this affair, and of his own conduct in it, as follows:

"That I am an author, whose characters are thought of some weight, appears from the great noise and bustle that the court and town make about me. I desire your opinion
as

as to lady ----'s and lord ----'s performance. They are certainly the top wits of the court; and you may judge, by that single piece, what can be done against me; for it was laboured, corrected, pre-commended, and past disapproved; so far as to be disowned by themselves, after each had highly cried it up for the other's.

I have met with some complaints, and have heard at a distance of some threats occasioned by my verses. I sent fair messenges to acquaint them where I was to be found in town, and to offer to call on them at their houses to satisfy them; and so it dropped. It is very poor in any one to rail and threaten at a distance, and have nothing to say to you when they see you."

He knew well the nature of his friend, and this address was *ad hominem*; accordingly he received a most comforting answer, which concludes thus:

"Give me a shilling, and I will insure you, that posterity shall never know one single enemy, excepting those whose memory you have preserved."

After this, he continued writing satires till the year 1739, when he entertained some thoughts of undertaking an epic poem; which, however, proved abortive. He has told us in the Epilogue the reason of his laying
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ing down his pen on those satirical subjects; and he gave the true one for laying down his moral essays long before to Dr. Swift.

“ I am,” says he, “ almost at the end of my morals, as I have been long ago of my wit; my system is a short one, and my circle narrow. Imagination has no limits; that is a sphere in which you may move on to eternity: but where one is confined to truth, or, to speak more like a human creature, to the appearances of truth, we soon find the shortness of our tether.”

This was not his case as a satirist; the tartness of that lash was too liquorish to be cloying. Though he was drawn out of the sphere for a while by some more immediately interesting views, yet we shall find him returning to it again in a little time, and continuing to move in it till death arrested his steps.

In the interim, several of his familiar letters having stole into the world without his privity, he published a genuine collection of them in 1737; the avowed incident for which publication is retailed in the Preface, and the truth of it rests upon our author's name.

The story is undeniably somewhat intricate, which caused a suspicion that some cunning had been used by him; but we must content ourselves with another reason for publishing these letters at this time, which considers them as a part of the design of his *Magnum Opus*, or his

his Essay on Man, Ethic Epistles, and Satires.

“ My opinion is,” says D. Warburton, “ that there might be collected from them the best system that ever was wrote for the conduct of human life, at least to shame all reasonable men out of their follies and vices ; and, no doubt, the manner in which Mr. Curll got possession of some of them, is a flaming instance of the corruption of the age.”

Whatever may be thought of this reason, it is certain the increase of his purse had no small share in the motives for publishing them. Familiar letters betwixt persons of any reputation will always meet with readers ; and the reason of it is well expressed in these very letters by lord Bolingbroke, who, in a postscript to one of Pope's to Swift, writes thus :

“ I seek no epistolary fame, but am a good deal pleased to think, that it will be known hereafter that you and I lived in the most friendly intimacy together.---Pliny,” continues his lordship, writ his letters for the public ; so did Seneca ; so did Balzac, Voiture, &c. Tully did not ; and therefore these give us more pleasure. We see Cato, and Brutus, and Pompey, such as they really were, and not such as the gaping multitude of their own age took them to be, or as historians and poets have

have represented them to us.---That is another pleasure.

“ I remember to have seen a procession at Aix la Chapelle, wherein an image of Charlemagne is carried on the shoulders of a man, who is hid by the long robe of the imperial saint. Follow him into the vestry, you see the bearer slip from under the robe, and the gigantic figure dwindle into an image of an ordinary size, and is set by among other lumber.”

His lordship's remark is undeniably very just, and unavoidably turns our eyes upon his pupil, who is the person chiefly concerned in it. Accordingly, we find, in these letters, not only that he had given into some gayeties in his youth, as well as other poets, for that he had made public confession of long before; but, what was at this time particularly interesting, these letters discover the peculiar sting in the name of Sappho, under which he satirizes lady Mary Wortley Montague.

That pretieuse, Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, so called by her keeper Mr. Cromwell, being entrusted by the latter to preserve several of our author's letters which he had sent to Cromwell, she sold them to Curll, who, it is said, made use of them as so many decoy-ducks to draw in others; and, by that means, the surreptitious edition of our author's letters was completed; for which reason our author sent

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the following rondeau to Cromwell, that it might be communicated to her.

You know where you did despise,
 T'other day, my little eyes,
 Little legs, and little thighs,
 And something else of little size,
 You know where.

You, 'tis true, have fine black eyes,
 Taper legs, and tempting thighs:
 Yet what more than all we prize
 Is a thing of little size,
 You know where.

It was about this time, that, the ill state of Pope's health having frequently drawn him to Bath, he could not long remain there unknown to Mr. Allen, a very eminent Quaker who resided near that place, and was so much pleased with the Letters of our poet, as to seek an opportunity for contracting a friendship with their author; the result of which was his acquaintance with Mr. Warburton; who tells us, he had, before the commencement of this intimacy, wrote his Commentary upon the Art of Criticism, as also on the Essay on Man.

The great complaint of that essay was its obscurity; which our author had been told of by

by his friend Dean Swift, who wrote to him thus upon its first appearance :

“ I confess,” says that friend, “ in some few places, I was forced to read twice. I believe I told you before what the duke of D--- said to me on that occasion ; how a judge here who knows you, told him, that, on the first reading these essays, he was much pleased, but found some lines a little dark ; on the second, most of them cleared up, and his pleasure increased ; on the third, he had no doubt remaining ; and, that he admired the whole.”

But their obscurity was comparatively a small fault ; the author was also charged with having laid a plan of deism. It was against this objector, that Mr. Warburton first entered the lists, in defence of Pope, in these Commentaries ; and Mr. Pope, in a letter to him on this occasion, acknowledges the obscurity of his piece.

“ You have,” says he, “ made my system as clear as I ought to have done, and could not : you understand me as well as I do myself, but you express me better than I express myself.” And, in a subsequent letter upon the same subject, he goes still further : “ You understand my work,” says he, “ better than I do myself.”

Mr. Warburton's Commentary being thus approved, the Essay on Man was re-published therewith in 1740. But it appears, from those acknowledgments of Mr. Pope, as if lord Bolingbroke, who confessedly furnished the matter of the Essay, had put more into our author's head than he was able perfectly to comprehend. This edition, with the Comment, was translated into French, by a gentleman belonging to Monsr. Cromby, an ambassador. Mr. Pope desired his friend Warburton to procure a good translation of the Essay on Man into Latin prose, which was begun by a gentleman of Cambridge; but a specimen which was sent to our author not happening to please him, that design proved abortive.

It was also at the instance of Mr. Warburton, that our author added a fourth book to the Dunciad; which was printed separately in the year 1742.

About the time that Pope acquainted his last-mentioned friend with his design to add this book to the three former of the Dunciad, they went together to Oxford, where Mr. Pope had the compliment made to him of an offer of a doctor's degree in law; which he chusing to wave, went further west to visit some friends, leaving his fellow-traveller in the university; who staying there a day longer to visit his friend Dr. John Conybeare, dean of Christchurch, received a message that day from the vice-chancellor, by a person of eminence in the university, with the like compliment,

to know if a doctor's degree in divinity would be acceptable to him. The offer was entertained in a very different manner from the former to Mr. Pope. But this latter proved a meer compliment, the makers of it being, as it seems, mistaken in imagining, that one friend would not chuse to be doctored without the other ; so that, when the congregation met for the purpose, the grace passed in the negative.

This affront was warmly resented by Mr. Warburton : but he had sufficient amends made to him for it by Dr. Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury, who conferred that degree upon him not long after.

In the next year, this whole poem of the *Dunciad* came out together, as a specimen of a more correct edition of his works, which he had then resolved to give to the public : and he made some progress in that design, but did not live to compleat it.

In the former edition, of 1742, Mr. Cibber being then become laureat, was promoted to the throne of Dullness : which indignity he was judged to have merited by a late attack upon our author, wherein, among other things, was revealed a ludicrous passage of his youthful days to this purpose : That Mr. Pope was decoyed to a brothel by a certain nobleman, in company of Cibber ; who there, out of pure compassion, pulled him off one of the ladies whom he had mounted, and might have done himself a mischief. The story was told

with humor, and, indeed, was no more than a very apposite return to a reflection cast upon Cibber some years before, in the epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot.

And has not Colley still his lord and whore?

The truth is, there had been between them an irreconcilable quarrel of a long standing, which, unluckily for Pope, and with some little blemish to his character, begun in the play-house; and he continued in a state of warfare with the players ever after. In the mean time, Cibber thrived, procured many valuable friends, and at last obtained the laureat's place.

All this was apparently beheld with no pleasing eyes by his antagonist, who now resolved to take his full revenge by making him the hero of his Dunciad. To this purpose, no art that he could devise was left untried against this hated rival. The farce began with an act of settlement upon the throne, which runs thus :

“ BY virtue of the authority in us vested, by the act of subjecting poets to the power of a licenser, we have revised this piece; where, finding the stile and place of king have been given to a certain pretended pseudo-poet, or phantom, of the name of Theobald; and apprehending the same may be deemed, in some sort, a reflection on majesty; or, at least,
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an encroachment on that legal authority, which has bestowed on another person the crown of poesy : We order the said pretended pseudo-poet, or phantom, utterly to vanish and depart out of the work ; and declare the said throne of poesy, from this instant, to be abdicated and vacant, unless duly and lawfully supplied by the laureat himself : and it is hereby enacted, that no other person presume to fill the same."

And, lest this should not be sufficient, there was prefixed the following advertisement :

" It was expressly confessed, in the Preface to the first edition, that this poem was not published by the author himself. It was printed originally in a foreign country ; and what foreign country ? Why, one notorious for blunders ; where, finding blanks only instead of proper names, those blunderers filled them up at their pleasure. The very hero of the poem has been mistaken to this hour ; so that we are obliged to open our notes with a discovery who he really was. We learn from the former editor, that this piece was presented by the hands of Sir Robert Walpole to king George the Second. Now the author directly tells us, his hero is the man

---- who brings
The Smithfield muses to the ears of kings.

And it is notorious to whom this prince conferred the honour of laureat."

To these jocular attempts to fix the intended infamy upon Cibber, there was added another in the serious way, in the edition of 1743, by Mr. Warburton; who tells us, he had long had a design of giving some sort of notes on the work of this poet, before he had any acquaintance with him. He thought some were wanting of a more serious kind."

"I had lately," continues he, "the pleasure of passing some months with the author in the country, where I prevailed upon him to do what he had long designed, and favour me with an explanation of several passages in his works. It happened, just at this juncture, that there was published a ridiculous book against him full of personal reflections, which furnished him with a lucky opportunity of improving this poem, by giving it the only thing it wanted, a more considerable hero. He was always sensible of its defect in that particular, and only let the piece pass with the hero it had, purely for want of a better; not entertaining the least expectation, that such a one was reserved for this post as had obtained the laureat. He could no longer deny this justice. And yet I shall venture to say, there was another motive which had still more weight with our author; this person, who, from

from every folly, not to say vice, of which another would be ashamed, has constantly derived a vanity, and therefore was the man in the world who would least be hurt by it."

All this while the general cry ran in favour of Colley, and this last effort on Pope's side was so far from having the desired effect, that it was turned against him, and construed to proceed from a consciousness of his newly-dubbed hero's superiority in the skirmish; it being observable, that, in these pen-wars, contrary to those of the sword, he that keeps the field, i. e. has the last word, has generally the worst of it.

The truth is, Cibber, in his pamphlet, promised to keep his temper, and did so; by which means our author was deprived of his usual weapons of advantage, and the laureat got some reputation by his performance; which consequently Mr. Pope must have lost. --- Thus it happened, that he was a little unlucky in the choice of both the heroes to the Dunciad.

His edition of Shakespear proved no better than a foil to set off the superiority of Theobald's; and Cibber bore away the palm from him in the drama. We have account of two attempts of Pope's, one in each of the two branches of this species of poetry, and both unsuccessful.

He had all his life been subject to an habitual head-ach, and that hereditary complaint

was now greatly increased by a dropfy in his breast, under which he expired on the thirtieth of May, 1744, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

His body was deposited, pursuant to his own request, in the same vault with those of his parents, to whose memory he had erected a monument with an inscription written by himself. It is as follows, but in capital characters.

D. O. M.

Alexandro Pope, viro innocuo, probò, pio;

Qui vixit an. 75. ob. 1717.

Et Edithæ conjugì, inculpabili, pientissimæ;

Quæ vixit annos 93. ob. 1733.

Parentibus bene merentibus

Filius fecit.

Et sibi. Obiit an. 1744. ætatis 56.

This last line was added after his death, in pursuance to his will; the rest was done on the death of his parents.

Not long before his death he made his Will; in which he constituted Miss Blount his testamentary-heir during her life; and, among other legacies, he bequeathed to Dr. Warburton the property of such of his works already printed, as he had written, or should write, Commentaries upon, and had not been otherwise disposed of, or alienated; with this condition, that they were published without future.

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After he had made his Will, he wrote this legatee a letter; in which, having informed him of his legacy, he says,

“ I own the late encroachments upon my constitution make me willing to see the end of all further care about me or my works. I would rest for the one, in a full resignation of my being to be disposed of by the Father of all Mercies; and, for the other, though, indeed, a trifle, yet a trifle may be some example, I would commit them to the candour of a sensible and reflecting judge, rather than to the malice of every short-sighted and malevolent critic, or inadvertent and censorious reader; and no head can set them in so clear a light, or so well turn their best side to the day, as your own.”

In discharge of this trust, that gentleman gave a compleat edition, in 1751, of all Mr. Pope's works, executed in such a manner as, he was persuaded, would have been to the author's satisfaction.

The elegance of this edition is very commendable, and it is not to be doubted, but that the author's design, as to the collection, is faithfully observed, as far as it could be done. How far the editor's privilege in writing notes extended, is only known to himself. Several inserted in the first edition, were left out in the second; but still several were retained, which contain severe, not to say, ill-natur-

ed, reflections, upon the author's dearest friends
These have not escaped censure.

'Tis said, that allowing the remarks to be just, yet the inserting them in his works must either be an injury to his will, or leave his moral character indefensible. One of these gives room to suspect this last to be the case with regard to these friends.

In the 84th letter of the 9th volume, Mr. Pope expresses himself to that old friend, Dean Swift, thus :

“ You ask me if I have got any supply of new friends to make up for them that are gone ; I think that impossible : but as, when the continual washing of a river takes away our flowers and plants, it throws weeds and sedges in their room ; so the course of time brings us something, as it deprives us of a great deal : and, instead of leaving us what we cultivated, and expected to flourish and adorn us, gives us only what is of some little by accident. Thus I have acquired — But I had my heart hardened, and blunt to new impressions, Adieu. I can say no more, I feel so much.”

To the word room we see the following note :

“ There are some strokes in this letter, which can no otherwise be accounted for, than by the author's extreme compassion and tenderness

derness of heart, too much affected by the complaints of a peevish old man, labouring and impatient under his infirmities, and too intent on the friendly office of mollyfying them."

The editor, we see, attributes these expressions of the author's love to an extremity of compassion, that is to weakness ; but it is a very pardonable one, as long as we don't know them to be inconsonant to some other warm expressions of love to any of his new friends, which may well be supposed to be the case at the time of his writing this letter, that is, before he knew Dr. Warburton, or wrote those letters to him that are printed in this volume ; wherein, if the expressions are sincere, it cannot be denied that our author had changed his heart a little since the time of his writing the letter here cited to Dean Swift. Be that as it will ; Lord Orrery very justly disliked the continual complimenting turn of these letters ; and those that have been since added by Mr. Warburton, will give him no reason to like them better on that account.

In 1749, there was published a treatise by lord Bolingbroke, with a preface, wherein Mr. Pope's conduct, with regard to that piece, was represented as a most inexcusable act of treachery to his friend. It was entitled An Advertisement, and was drawn up in these terms :

The

“ The following papers were written several years ago, at the request, and for the sake, of some particular friends, without the design of ever making them public. How they came to be made so, at this time, it may be proper to give an account.

“ The original draughts were entrusted to a man on whom the author thought he might entirely depend after he had exacted from him, and taken, his promise, that they should never go into any hands except those of five or six friends who were named to him. In this confidence the author rested securely for some years; and, though he was not without suspicion, that they had been communicated to more persons than he intended they should be, yet he was kept, by repeated assurances, even from suspecting that any copies had come into hands unknown to him. But this man was no sooner dead, than he received information, that an entire edition of one thousand five hundred copies of these papers had been printed; that this very man had corrected the press, and that he had left them in the hands of the printer to be kept with great secrecy till further orders. The honest printer kept his word with him better than he kept his word with his friend; so that the whole edition came at last into the hands of the author, except some few copies which this person had taken out of the heap and carried away. By these copies it appeared, that the man who
had

had been guilty of this breach of trust, had taken upon him further to divide the subject, and to alter and omit passages according to the suggestion of his own fancy.

“What aggravates this proceeding, is, that the author had told him, on several occasions, among other reasons, why he would not consent to the publication of these papers, was, That they had been wrote in too much haste and hurry for the public eye, though they might be trusted to a few particular friends; he added, more than once, that some things required to be softened; others, perhaps, to be strengthened; and the whole, most certainly, to be corrected; even if they were to remain, as he then imagined they would, in the hands of a few friends only.”

The main particulars of this fact were too notorious to be denied: but Mr. Warburton entered heartily, with great zeal, into his friend's vindication; and endeavoured even to throw the greatest part of the infamy, that necessarily stuck to such a piece of treachery, upon that noble lord; and by that means drew part of the resentment due to Mr. Pope upon himself, in an answer which was published with this title: “To the most impudent Man alive.”

A slip of the like kind with this of our author, in respect to his friend lord B----, was made by his friend Dean Swift in regard to himself.

“They

“ They have printed,” says he, “ in Ireland, my letters to Dr. Swift ; and, which is the strongest circumstance, by his own consent and direction, without acquainting me till it was done.”

Thus he writes to Dr. Warburton ; to which that friend notes, That this was the strongest resentment he [Pope] ever expressed of this indiscretion of his old friend ; as being persuaded that it proceeded from no ill will to him, though it exposed him to the ill will of others :---and it therefore, is to be hoped, that a like indulgence will be exerted in attaining an excuse for this proceeding of our author ; more especially since Warburton assures us, That,

“ To have been one of the best poets in the world was but Mr. Pope’s second praise ; he was in a higher class ; he was one of the noblest works of God, he was An Honest Man.”

And lord Orrery observes, That,

“ If we may judge of him by his works, his chief aim was to be esteemed a man of virtue. His letters are written in that style, his last volumes are all of the moral kind ; he has avoided trifles, and consequently has escaped a rock, which has proved very injurious

rious to Dr. Swift's reputation: He has given his imagination full scope, and yet has preserved a perpetual guard upon his conduct. The constitution of his body and mind might really incline him to the habits of caution and reserve. The treatment which he met with afterwards, from an innumerable tribe of adversaries, confirmed this habit, and made him slower than the dean in pronouncing his judgment upon persons and things. His prose writings are little less harmonious than his verse: and his voice, in common conversation, was so naturally musical, that I remember Honest Tom Southern used to call him 'The Little Nightingale. His manners were easy, delicate, and engaging; and he treated his friends with a politeness that charmed, and a generosity that was much to his honour. Every guest was made happy within his doors, pleasure dwelt under his roof, and elegance presided at his table."

THE LIFE OF

JONATHAN SWIFT.

JONATHAN SWITH, Doctor of Divinity, dean of St. Patrick's, son of Mr. Jonathan Swift and Mrs. Abigail Erick, was born in Dublin, November 30, 1667, and was carried into England soon after his birth, by his nurse, who being obliged to cross the sea, and having a nurse's fondness for the child at her breast, conveyed him on ship-board without the knowledge of his mother or relations, and kept him with her at Whitehaven, in Cumberland, during her residence three years at that place. Many of his friends imagined him to be a native of England; and many others, whether friends or enemies cannot be said, were willing to suppose him the natural son of sir William Temple. Neither of these suggestions can be true; for although, in his angry moods, when he was provoked at the ingratitude of the Irish, he was frequently heard to say, "I am not of this vile country; I am an Englishman;" yet, in his cooler hours, he never denied his country: on the contrary, he frequently mentioned, and pointed out, the house where he was born. The other suggestion,



Deane Swift. ^{*et Arctine sculp.*}



gestion, concerning the illegitimacy of his birth, is very false. Sir William Temple was employed as a minister abroad from the year 1665 to the year 1670; so that Dr. Swift's mother, who never crossed the sea, except from England to Ireland, was out of all possibility of a personal correspondence with Sir William Temple, till some years after her son's birth. As the greatest part of the doctor's father's income perished with him, the care, tuition, and expence of his children, devolved upon his elder brother, Mr. Godwin Swift, who voluntarily became their guardian, and supplied the loss which they had sustained in a father.

The infancy of Dr. Swift passed on without any marks of distinction. At six years old he went to school at Kilkenny, and about eight years afterwards was entered a student of Trinity-college in Dublin; where he lived in perfect regularity, and underwent an entire obedience to the statutes: but the moroseness of his temper often rendered him unacceptable to his companions; so that he was little regarded, and less beloved: nor were the academical exercises agreeable to his genius.

He held logic and metaphysics in the utmost contempt, and he scarce considered mathematics and natural philosophy, unless to turn them into ridicule.

The studies he chiefly followed were history and poetry, in which he made no great progress; but to all other branches of science he had given so very little application, that when
he

appeared as a candidate for bachelor of arts he was set aside on account of insufficiency; and even he obtained his admission, *speciali gratiâ*, a phrase which, in that university carries with it the utmost marks of reproach. Swift was full of indignation at the treatment he had received in Ireland, and therefore resolved to pursue his studies at Oxford. However, that he might be admitted *ad eundem*, he was obliged to carry with him the testimonium of his degree. The expression *speciali gratiâ* is so peculiar to the university of Dublin, that, when Mr. Swift exhibited his testimonial at Oxford, the members of the English university concluded, that the words *speciali gratiâ* must signify a degree conferred in reward of extraordinary diligence and learning. He was immediately admitted *ad eundem*, and entered himself of Hart-hall, now Hartford-college, where he constantly resided (some visits to his mother at Leicester, and to sir William Temple at Moore-park, excepted) till he took his degree of master of arts, which was in the year 1691.

The reader may be curious to know in what manner Mr. Swift subsisted, or by what channel the springs of his revenue were supplied, at a time when both kingdoms, but particularly Ireland, were in such great confusion.

The reader will also tremble for him, when he is told, that in the year of the revolution his uncle Mr. Godwin Swift had fallen into a kind of lethargy, which deprived him by
degrees,

degrees, of his speech and memory, and rendered him totally incapable of being of the least service to his family.

But in the midst of this distressed situation, Sir William Temple (whose lady was related to Dr. Swift's mother) most generously stepped in to his assistance, and avowedly supported his education at the university of Oxford. Sir William Temple's friendship was immediately construed to proceed from a consciousness that he was the real father.

It ought not to be here omitted, that another of his father's brothers, Mr. William Swift, assisted him when at Oxford, by repeated acts of friendship and affection.

Swift, as soon as he had quitted the university of Oxford, lived with Sir William Temple, as his friend and domestic companion. When he had been about two years with Sir William, he contracted a very long and dangerous illness, by eating an immoderate quantity of fruit.

To this surfeit he has often been heard to ascribe that giddiness in his head, which, with intermissions, sometimes of a longer and sometimes of a shorter continuance, pursued him, till it seemed to complete its conquest, by rendering him the exact image of one of his old Struldbruggs, a miserable spectacle, devoid of every appearance of human nature, except the outward form.

In compliance to his physicians, when he was sufficiently recovered to travel, he went

to

to Ireland to try the effects of his native air : and found so much benefit by the journey, that in compliance to his own inclination, he soon returned into England, and was again received in a most affectionate manner, by Sir William Temple, who had now left Moorepark, and was settled at Shene, where he was often visited by king William.

Here Swift had frequent conversations with that prince, in some of which the king offered to make him a captain of horse : which offer in splenetic dispositions he always seemed sorry to have refused ; but at that time he had resolved within his own mind to take orders, and during his whole life, his resolutions once fixed, wherever after immoveable. Thus determined, he went over to Ireland, and inlisted himself under the banner of the church.

He was recommended by Sir William Temple to lord Capel, then lord Deputy, who gave him a prebend, of which the income was about 100 l. a year. Swift soon grew weary of his preferment ; it was not sufficiently considerable, and was at so great a distance from the metropolis, that it absolutely deprived him of that conversation and society, in which he delighted.

He had been used to very different scenes in England, and had naturally an aversion to solitude and retirement. He was glad therefore to resign his prebend in favour of a friend, and to return to Shene, where he lived as usual till the death of Sir William Temple, who

who besides a legacy in money, left to him the care and trust of publishing his post-humous works.

During Swift's residence with Sir William Temple, he became intimately acquainted with a lady, whom he had distinguished, and often celebrated under the name of Stella. Swift married her, but notwithstanding, she was a most accomplished woman, he could never be prevailed on to own her openly as his wife, although after her death, (which happened in 1727) he could never hear her mentioned without a sigh.

Upon the death of Sir William Temple, Swift came to London, and took the earliest opportunity of delivering a petition to king William, under the claim of a promise made by his majesty to Sir William Temple, "that Mr. Swift should have the first vacancy that happened among the prebends of Westminster or Canterbury." The petition had no effect. It was either totally forgotten, or drowned amidst the clamour of more urgent claims.

After a long and fruitless attendance at Whitehall, Mr. Swift reluctantly gave up all thoughts of a settlement in England.

Mr. Swift had dedicated Sir William Temple's works to the king, which dedication was neglected, nor did his majesty take the least notice of him after Sir William's death.

Honour or rather pride, hindered him from staying long in a state of servility and contempt

tempt. He therefore complied with an invitation from the earl of Berkley, appointed one of the lords justices in Ireland, to attend him as his chaplain and private secretary. Lord Berkeley landed at Waterford, and Mr. Swift acted as secretary during the whole journey to Dublin. But one Bush, another of lord Berkeley's attendants, had by this time insinuated himself into the earl's favour, and by his whisperings, which were perhaps too attentively listened to, had persuaded his lordship that the post of secretary was improper for a clergyman, to whom only church preferments could be suitable or advantageous. After some slight apology, Mr. Swift was divested of his office, which was given to Bush.

This treatment was thought injurious, and Swift expressed his sensibility of it, in a short, but satirical copy of verses, entitled, *The Discovery*. However, during the government of the earls of Berkeley and Galway, who were jointly lords justices of Ireland, two livings, Laracor and Rathbeggan, were bestowed upon Mr. Swift, both these rectories together, were worth about two hundred and sixty pounds a year, and were the only church preferments he enjoyed, till he was appointed dean of St. Patrick's, in the year 1713.

After Mr. Swift had taken possession of his livings, he went to reside at Laracor, and gave publick notice to his parishioners, that he would read prayers once every Wednesday and Friday. Upon the subsequent Wednesday the bell

bell was rung, and the rector attended in his desk, when after having sat some time, and finding the congregation to consist only of himself and his clerk Roger, he began with great composure and gravity, but with a turn peculiar to himself, "Dear!y beloved Roger, "the scripture moveth you and me in sundry "places," and proceeded regularly through the whole service. This trifling circumstance is only mentioned to shew, that he could not resist a vein of humour whenever he had an opportunity of exerting it.

During his mother's life, who resided at Leicester, he scarce ever failed paying her an annual visit. But his manner of travelling was as singular as any other of his actions. He often went in a waggon, but more frequently walked from Holyhead to Leicester, London, or any other part of England. He generally chose to dine with waggoners, hostlers, &c. and used to lay in houses where he found written over the door, lodgings for a penny. He delighted in scenes of low life, and the vulgar dialect was not only a fund of humour for him, but in all probability acceptable to his nature, otherwise how are the many filthy ideas and indelicate expressions that are found throughout his works to be accounted for.

In the year 1701, Swift took his doctor's degree, and towards the latter end of that year king William died.

On the accession of queen Anne, Dr. Swift came into England. It cannot be denied, that

the chief ministers of that queen, whether distinguished under the titles of whigs or tories, of high church or of low church, were from the beginning to the end of her reign, encouragers of learning, and patrons of learned men.

The wits of that æra were numerous and eminent. Amidst the croud, yet superior to the rest appeared Dr. Swift. In a mixture of these two jarring animals, called whig and tory, consisted the first ministry of queen Anne, but the greater share of the administration was committed to the whigs, who soon engrossed the whole; keeping their sovereign captive within their own walls.

The queen, whose heart was naturally inclined towards the tories, remained an unwilling prisoner several years to the wigs, till Mr. Harley at length delivered her, and during the remainder of her life, surrounded and defended with a new set of troops under the duke of Ormond.

Dr. Swift was known to the great men of each denomination; it is certain that he was bred up, and educated with wigs; at least with such as may be found ranged under that title. His motives for quitting whiggism for toryism, appear throughout his works.

No metamorphoses can produce a parallel equal to the change that appears in the same man, when from a patriot he becomes a courtier, yet it may be asserted, and will redound to the honour of Dr. Swift, that when
he

he rose into the confidence and esteem of those great men, who sat at the helm of affairs during the last years of queen Anne's reign, he scarce ever lost himself, or grew giddy by fullness of power, or the exalted station of frequently appearing in the confidence and favour of the first minister, he may have been carried away by passion, or may have erred in judgment, but he was always upright in his intentions.

There is scarce any material circumstance to be found relating to his life from the year 1702, till the change of the ministry in the year 1710, during which interval, he worked hard to undermine the whigs, and to open a way for the tories to the queen. His intimacy with lord Oxford commenced, as may be deduced from his works, in October 1709. In a poem written in 1713, he says,

'Tis (let me see) three years and more
(October next will make it four)
Since Harley bid me first attend,
And chose me for an humble friend.

And again in another poem written in this same year,

My lord would carry on the jest,
And down to Windsor take his guest.
Swift much admires the place and air
And longs to be a canon there.
A canon! that's a place too mean,
No, doctor, you shall be a dean.

By this last quotation, and by numberless other instances in his works, it seems undeniable, that a settlement in England was the constant object of Dr. Swift's ambition; so that his promotion to a deanery in Ireland, was rather a disappointment than a reward, as appears in many expressions in his letters to Mr. Gay and Mr. Pope.

In the year 1739, the character of Dr. Swift as an author, was perfectly established, and as Homer says of Ulysses: he could appear a beggar among beggars, and a king among kings.

From the year 1710, to the latest period of queen Anne, we find him fighting on the side of the ministers, and maintaining their cause in pamphlets, poems and weekly papers. A man always appears of more consequence to himself, than he is in reality to any other person. Such was the case of Dr. Swift. He saw himself indulged by the smiles of the earl of Oxford in particular, and knew how useful he was to the administration in general, and in one of his letters he mentions, that the place of historiographer was preserved for him; but there is reason to suspect, that he flattered himself too highly; at least it is very evident, that he remained without preferment till the year 1713, when he was made dean of St. Patrick's. In point of power and revenue, such a deanery might appear no inconsiderable promotion; but to an ambitious mind, whose perpetual aim was a settlement in England,

land, a dignity in any other kingdom must appear only an honourable and profitable banishment.

There is great reason to imagine, that the temper of Swift might occasion his English friends to wish him happily and properly promoted at a distance. His spirit was ever untractable, the motions of his genius irregular. He assumed more the airs of a patron than a friend. He affected rather to dictate than advise. He was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence. He enjoyed the shadow : the substance was detained from him.

Reflections of this kind will account for his missing an English bishoprick, a disappointment which he imagined he owed to a joint application made against him to the queen by Dr. Sharp, then archbishop of York, and by a lady of the highest rank and character.

Archbishop Sharp, according to Dr. Swift's account, had represented him to the queen, as a person who was not a Christian; the great lady had supported the aspersions; and the queen upon such assurances, had given away the bishoprick contrary to her first intentions. Swift kept himself indeed within some tolerable bounds when he spoke of the queen : but his indignation knew no limits, when he mentioned the archbishop or the lady.

Dr. Swift had little reason to rejoice in the land where his lot had fallen : for upon his arrival in Ireland to take possession of his

deanery, he found the violence of party reigning in that kingdom to the highest degree. The common people were taught to look upon him as a jacobite, and they proceeded so far in their detestations as to throw stones at him as he passed through the streets.

The chapter of St. Patrick's like the rest of the kingdom, received him with great reluctance. They thwarted him in every particular he proposed. He was avoided as a pestilence, opposed as an invader, and marked out as an enemy to his country. Such was his first reception as dean of St. Patrick's. Fewer talents and less firmness, must have yielded to such violent opposition.

But so strange are the revolutions of this world, that Dr. Swift, who was now the detestation of the Irish rabble, lived to govern them with an absolute sway.

The dean's first step was to reduce to reason and obedience, his reverend brethren of the chapter of St. Patrick's in which he succeeded so well, and so speedy, that in a short time after his arrival, not one member of that body offered to contradict him, even in trifles. On the contrary, they held him in the highest veneration.

Dr. Swift made no longer stay in Ireland, in the year 1713, than was requisite to establish himself a dean, and to pass through certain customs, and formalities, or to use his own words,

Through

—— Through all vexations,
 Patents, instalments, abjurations,
 First-fruits, and tenths, and chapter-treats,
 Dues, payments, fees, demands, and — cheats.

During the time of these ceremonies, he kept a constant correspondence with his friends in England: all of whom were eminent, in either birth, station or abilities.

In the beginning of the year 1714, Dr. Swift returned to England. He found his great friends at the helm, much disunited among themselves. He saw the queen declining in her health, and distressed in her situation. The part which he had to act upon this occasion, was not so difficult as it was disagreeable; he exerted all his skill to reunite the ministers.

As soon as Swift found his pains fruitless, he retired to a friend's house in Berkshire, where he remained till the queen's death, an event which fixed the period of his views in England, and made him return as fast as possible to his deanery in Ireland, loaded with grief and discontent.

From the year 1714, till he appeared in 1720, as a champion for Ireland against Wood's halfpence, his spirit of politics and patriotism, was kept closely confined within his own breast. His attendance upon the public service of the church was regular and uninterrupted: and, indeed regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the most trifling.

His works, from the year 1714, to the year 1720, are few in number, and of small importance, Poems to Stella, and trifles to Dr. Sheridan fill up a great part of that period.

In the year 1720, he began to resume the character of a political writer. A small pamphlet in defence of the Irish manufactories, was supposed to be his first essay in Ireland in that kind of writing: and to that pamphlet, he owed the turn of the popular tide in his favour.

Dr. Swift's sayings of wit, and humour had been handed about, and repeated from time to time among the people. They were adapted to the understanding, and pleased the imagination, of the vulgar; and he was now looked on in a new light, and distinguished by the title of the dean.

The pamphlet, proposing the universal use of the Irish manufacture within the kingdom, had captivated all hearts. Some little pieces of poetry to the same purpose, were no less acceptable and engaging, nor was the dean's attachment to the true interest of Ireland any longer doubted. His patriotism was as manifest as his wit; he was looked upon with pleasure and respected as he passed through the streets; and had attained to so high a degree of popularity, as to become the arbitrator in disputes among his neighbours.

But the popular affection which the dean had hitherto acquired, may be said not to have been universal; till the publication of the
Drapier's

Drapier's Letters, which made all ranks and professions universal in his applause. The occasion of those letters is too well known to need any place here.

At the sound of the Drapier's trumpet a vast spirit arose among the people of all ranks and denomination. The papist, the fanatic, the whig and the tory, all listed themselves under the banner of the Drapier.

Never was any name bestowed with more universal approbation, than the name of the Drapier was bestowed upon the dean, who had no sooner assumed it, than he became the idol of Ireland, even to a degree of devotion, and bumpers were poured forth to the Drapier, as large and as frequent as to the glorious and immortal memory of king William III. Acclamations and vows for his prosperity attended him wherever he went, and his effigies was painted in every street in Dublin.

The dean was consulted in all points relating to domestic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular; but he was more immediately looked on as the legislator of the weavers, who frequently came to him in a body to receive his advice in settling the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen.

When elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many corporations refused to declare themselves, till they had consulted his sentiments and inclinations.

We have now conducted the dean through the most interesting circumstances of his life to the fatal period wherein he was utterly deprived of his reason, a loss which he often seemed to foresee, and prophetically lamented to his friends. The total deprivation of his senses came upon him by degrees.

In the year 1736, he was seized with a violent fit of giddiness, he was at that time writing a satirical poem, called, *The Legion Club*; but he found the effects of his giddiness so dreadful that he left the poem unfinished, and never afterwards attempted a composition of any length, either in verse or prose: however, his conversation still remained the same, lively and severe; but his memory gradually grew worse and worse, and as that decreased, he grew every day more fretful and impatient.

From the year 1739, to the year 1744, his passions grew so violent and ungovernable, his memory became so decayed, and his reason so depraved, that the utmost precautions were taken to prevent all strangers from approaching him: for till then, he had not appeared totally incapable of conversation: early in the year 1742, the small remains of his understanding became entirely confused, and the violence of his rage increased absolutely to a degree of madness. In this miserable state, he seemed to be appointed as a proper inhabitant of his own hospital: especially as from an outrageous lunatic, he sunk into a quiet, speechless idiot;

idiot; and dragged out the remainder of his life in that helpless situation. He died towards the latter end of October 1745.

The manner of his death was easy without the least pang or convulsion; even the rattling in his throat was scarce sufficient to give any alarm to his attendants till within some very little time before he expired. Swift certainly foresaw his fate.

Dr. Swift was often heard to lament the state of childhood and idiotism, to which some of the greatest men of the nation were reduced before their death. He mentioned as examples within his own time, the duke of Marlborough and lord Somers: and when he cited these melancholy instances it was always with a heavy sigh, and with great apparent uneasiness, as if he felt an impulse of what was to happen to him before he died.

He left his whole fortune, some few legacies excepted, which was about twelve thousand pounds, to the building of an hospital for idiots and lunatics. As to his works, lord Corke has given a very nice and critical account of them in his Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift, from which this life is extracted.

Dr. Swift's will, like all his other writings, is drawn up in his own peculiar manner; even in so serious a composition he cannot help indulging himself (in leaving legacies that carry with them an air of raillery and jest. He disposes of his three hats, his best, second best,

and third beaver) with an ironical solemnity, that renders the bequest's ridiculous. He bequeaths,

“To Mr. John Gratton, a silver box, to keep in it the tobacco which the said John usually chewed, called pigtail.”

But his legacy to Mr. Robert Gratton is still more extraordinary.

“Item, I bequeath to the reverend Mr. Robert Gratton, prebendary of St. Audeon's, my strong box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box unto his brother, Dr. James Gratton, during the life of the said doctor, who has more occasion for it.”

These are so many impressions of his turn, and way of thinking; and there is no doubt, that the persons thus distinguished, look upon these instances, affectionate memorials of his friendship, and as tokens of the jocular manner, in which he treated them during his life-time.

His poem of the greatest length is *Cadenus and Vanessa*. Dr. Swift's works were elegantly published by Dr. Hawksworth, in 6 vols. 4to. and 12 vols. 8vo, in 1754.



Aveline
Lord Bolingbroke.



THE LIFE OF

HENRY SAINT-JOHN.

HENRY, SAINT-JOHN, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was born in 1672 at Battersea in Surry, the seat of that noble family. During his infancy, his education was chiefly directed by the Dissenters; but, as soon as it became proper to take him out of the hands of the women, he was sent to Eton school, and removed thence to Christ-Church-college in Oxford.

At his first entrance into the House of Commons, he expressed himself warmly against the Dissenters, and sided with the Church party.

His opponents, therefore in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, raised a clamour (by a remark idle enough in itself, but not therefore of less weight among the populace) from the inconsistency of this conduct with his education; having been, as they alledged, bred up from his infancy in dissenting principles, and well tutored by his grandmother, and her confessor Daniel Burgess, in the Presbyterian way. This latter part of the story is, indeed, probable enough, since both his grandparents were inclined to think well of the
piety

piety and sanctity of that sect, and both lived many years after he came into publick business.

We have also a hint of it from his own pen, by which we may see at the same time, how little relish he had for it even in those years. He is ridiculing the large commentaries upon St. Matthew and St. John by Chrysostom, "which says he, puts me in mind of a puritannical parson, Dr. Manton, who, if I mistake not, for I have not looked into the folio since I was a boy, and condemned sometimes to read it, made 119 sermons on the 119th Psalm." But that he was ever tinctured with dissenting principles in respect of the established Church, cannot fairly be inferred from thence, since though both Sir Walter and his lady were remarkable for sincere piety, yet they were no such bigots to Puritanism as were represented.

Dr. Simon Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who was long chaplain, and lived many years in the family, always spoke of them with the highest reverence as well as gratitude. The parish records at Battersea will shew, that Sir Walter was a good though a moderate Churchman, by almost every kind of testimony.

He repaired that fabrick more than once; erected, in virtue of a faculty from the Bishop, an entire new gallery, and built and endowed a charity-school, all at his own expence. To
this

this last, his lady was likewise a contributor, as well as a great Patroness to Dr. Patrick:

As to her father, the chief justice, St. John, whatever were his principles concerning religion, he was no bigot; for he preserved the cathedral church of Peterborough, when nobody else would have preserved it, and when the Parliament were importuned for a grant of it by Cromwell, in consideration of his services.

As to Daniel Burges, though a Dissenter, yet he was undeniably a man of wit and good parts; so that though it should be allowed that our statesman was lectured sometimes by him, yet he could receive no soursness to the established church by those lectures.

The truth is, that had the tutor been never so sour a religionist, it would not have been in his power to have instilled any part of it into his pupil, whose nature was far from being susceptible of such leaven, of which the following is a proof more than sufficient.

His lordship remarking the usefulness of that little genius, that literal critics and dictionary makers are blessed with, expresses himself in these terms: "I approve therefore, very much of the devotion of a studious man at Christ-Church [college in Oxford], who was overheard in his oratory entering into a detail with God, as devout persons are apt to do, and, amongst other particular thanksgivings, acknowledging the divine goodness, in
furnish-

furnishing the world with makers of dictionaries."

His genius and understanding were seen and admired by his contemporaries in both these places; but the love of pleasure had so much the ascendancy, as to hinder him from exerting his talents for literature in any particular performance. His friends designed him for public business, and when he left the university, he was considered as one who had the fairest opportunity of making a shining figure in that way of an active life.

With the graces of a handsome person, in whose aspect dignity was happily tempered with sweetness, he had a manner and address that was irresistibly engaging; a sparkling vivacity, a quick apprehension, a piercing wit, were united to a prodigious strength of memory, a peculiar subtlety of thinking and reasoning, and masterly elocution; but for some years, all these extraordinary endowments were employed in nothing so much as finishing the character of a complete rake of the first genius; he was particularly much addicted to women, and apt to indulge himself in late hours, with all those excesses that usually attend them.

This character is very consistent with seasons of cool reflections and lucid intervals; nay, these are essential ingredients in such a composition: without these, the character sinks into an ordinary and despicable debauchee. The like difficulties and disasters are run into

by

by both, but have not the like effect upon each : the latter in these circumstances, sinks into an inactive and lumpish stupidity ; the former, incapable of standing still, when thus checked in the indulgence of his power, immediately exerts his nobler faculties.

Thus his lordship assures us, that “ The
 “ love of study and desire of knowledge, were
 “ what he felt all his life ; and though his
 “ genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whif-
 “ pered so softly, that very often he heard him
 “ not, in the hurry of those passions with
 “ which he was transported, yet continues he,
 “ some calmer hours there were ; in them I
 “ hearkened to him.” Some of these lucid
 intervals were employed in versifying. We
 have the following copy prefixed to Mr. Dry-
 den’s Virgil, 1697.

No undisputed monarch govern’d yet,
 With universal sway the realms of wit.
 Nature could never such expence afford,
 Each several province own’d a several lord !
 A poet then had his poetic wife,
 One Muse embrac’d, and married for his life.
 By the stale thing his poetry was cloy’d,
 His fancy lessen’d, and his fire destroy’d,
 But Nature grown extravagantly kind,
 With all her fairest gifts adorn’d his mind ;
 The different powers were then united sound,
 And you the universal monarch crown’d.
 Your mighty sway her great deserts secures,
 And every Muse and every Grace is your’s.

To none confin'd, by turns you all enjoy ;
 Sated with these you to another fly.
 So, Sultan like, in your seraglio stand,
 While wishing misses wait for your command.
 Thus no decay, no want of figure find ;
 Such is your fancy, boundless as your mind,
 Not all the blasts of time can do you wrong,
 Young spite of age, in spite of weakness strong.
 Time, like Alcides, strikes you to the ground ;
 You, like Antæus, from each fall rebound.'

Mr. Pope observes very justly, that his lordship was the patron, the friend and the protector, of that great poet in the decline of his age, though not of his parts ; for the very last poems of Dryden are his best.

I hope what has been said here will not be made use of as an encouragement to rakery ; a sprightly poem, flashing bon mot, or a glittering reply, may be admired, whilst the general conduct of life is condemned ; and it is lesson enough, that lord Bolingbroke lived to tell us so.

In the entrance upon the XVIIth century, he was married to the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Winchescomb, of Bucklebury in Berkshire, Bart. This settlement was in all respects suitable to his birth and expectations, and the same year, 1700, he entered into the House of Commons, being elected for the borough of Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire by a family interest, his father having served several times for the same place : so that Mr. St. John, who

who was now about twenty-six years of age, took his seat in the English senate, with advantages scarcely inferior to those of any member that sat there.

He presently chose his party, and joined himself to Robert Harley, Esq; who in this Parliament was chosen for the first time Speaker; and he made himself considerable before the end of this first session.

Persevering steadily in the same connection, he gained such an authority and influence in the house, that it was thought proper to distinguish his merit; and April 10, 1704, he was appointed secretary at war, and of the marines. As this post created a constant correspondence with the duke of Marlborough, he became perfectly acquainted with the worth of that great general, and zealously promoted his interest.

It is remarkable, that the greatest events of the war, such as the battles of Blenheim and Ramelies, and several glorious attempts made by the duke to shorten the war by some decisive action, fell out while Mr. St. John was secretary at war. This gave him occasion more than once to set forth his grace's conduct in a true light. For instance, in carrying through the house the act for settling upon him the honour of Woodstock, with the pension charged upon the Post-Office; and demonstrating, that besides all the great things he did, he would certainly have attempted, and in all probability, performed, still greater, if he had
not

not been restrained by the Dutch Deputies : whence there is good grounds to believe, that no body understood the duke's behaviour better, or was inclined to do more justice to his intentions, as well as his actions, than this gentleman.

Yet in that disposition, a spirit of independency appears in setting Mr. Philips to write the poem called *Blenheim*, in emulation to the Campaign of Mr. Addison, who was recommended to that undertaking by lord Hallifax. He was, 'tis evident, a sincere admirer of that great general : he distinguished himself as such on the present, and avowed it upon all occasions, even to the last moment of his life.

But when Mr. Harley was removed from the Seals in 1707, Mr. St. John chose to follow his fortune, and the next day resigned his employments in the administration : he also followed his friend's example, and behaved, during the whole session of Parliament, with great temper, steadiness, and decency. He was not returned in the Parliament which was elected in 1708 ; but upon the dissolution of it in 1710, Mr. Harley being made chancellor and under treasurer of the exchequer, the important office of secretary of State was given to Mr. St. John ; and about the same time he wrote the famous letter to the Examiner.

Upon the calling of a new parliament on the 25th of November, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Berks, and also
burgess

burghers for Wotton-Basset, and made his election for the former.

This large accession of power put him into a sphere of action that called forth all his abilities: the English annals produce not a more trying juncture, and Mr. St. John appeared equal to every occasion of trial.

He sustained almost the whole weight of the difficulties in negotiating the peace of Utrecht; and, in July 1712, he was created Baron St. John of Lediard-Tregoze in Wiltshire, and Viscount Bolingbroke. He was also the same year appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Essex.

But these honours not answering his expectations, he formed a design of taking the lead in public affairs from his old friend Mr. Harley, then earl of Oxford; which proved in the issue unfortunate to them both.

It must be observed that Paul St. John, the earl of Bolingbroke, died the 5th of October, preceding this creation. That by his decease, though the Barony of Bletsho, devolved upon Sir Andrew St. John, Bart. yet the earldom became extinct, and the honour was promised to our author; but his presence in the House of Commons being so necessary at that time, the lord Treasurer prevailed upon him to remain there during that session, upon a promise that his rank should be preserved to him: but when he expected the old title should have been renewed in his favour, which considering his services, particularly in that session, seemed

reasonable enough, he was put off with this of Viscount; this he resented as an affront and looked on it as so intended by the Treasurer, who had got an earldom for himself.

It is not a little entertaining to see how his lordship expresses it :

“ I continued,” says he, “ in the House of
 “ Commons during that important session
 “ which preceded the peace, and, which by
 “ the spirit shewn through the whole course
 “ of it, and the resolutions taken in it, rendered the conclusion of the treaties practicable. After this, I was dragged into the
 “ house of lords in such a manner as to make
 “ my promotion a punishment, not a reward,
 “ there left to defend the treaties alone.

“ It would not have been hard, continues
 “ he, to have forced the earl of Oxford to use
 “ me better. His good intentions began to be
 “ very much doubted of; the truth is, no
 “ opinion of his sincerity had ever taken root
 “ in the party; and, which was worse perhaps
 “ for a man in his station, the opinion of his
 “ capacity began to fall apace. He was so
 “ hard pushed in the house of lords in the beginning of 1712, that he had been forced
 “ in the middle of the session, to persuade the
 “ Queen to make a promotion of twelve peers
 “ at once; which was an unprecedented and
 “ invidious measure, to be excused by nothing
 “ but the necessity, and hardly by that. In
 “ the house of commons his credit was low,
 “ and

“ and my reputation very high. You know
 “ the nature of that assembly; they grow like
 “ hounds, fond of the man who shews them
 “ game, and by whose halloo they are used to
 “ be encouraged. The thread of the negotia-
 “ tions, which could not stand still a moment,
 “ without going back, was in my hands : and
 “ before another man could have made him-
 “ himself master of the business, much time
 “ would have been lost, and great inconveni-
 “ ences would have followed. Some who op-
 “ posed the court soon after, began to waver
 “ then : and if I had not wanted the inclina-
 “ tion, I should have wanted no help, to do
 “ mischief. I knew the way of quitting my
 “ employments, and of retiring from court
 “ when the service of my party required it;
 “ but I could not bring myself up to that re-
 “ solution, when the consequence of it must
 “ have been the breaking my party, and
 “ the distress of the public affairs. I thought
 “ my mistress treated me ill, but the sense of
 “ that duty which I owed her, came in aid of
 “ other considerations, and prevailed over my
 “ resentment. These sentiments, indeed, are
 “ so much out of fashion, that a man who
 “ avows them is in danger of passing for a
 “ bubble in the world : yet they were, in the
 “ conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of
 “ my conduct ; and you saw me go on as
 “ chearfully in the troublesome and dangerous
 “ work assigned me, as if I had been under
 “ the utmost satisfaction. I began, indeed,
 “ in

“ in my heart to renounce the friendship
 “ which ’till that time I had preserved invio-
 “ lable for Oxford. I was not aware, of all
 “ his treachery, nor of the base and little
 “ means which he employed then, and conti-
 “ nued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in
 “ the opinion of the Queen, and every where
 “ else. I say, however, that he had no friend-
 “ ship for any body, and that with respect to
 “ me, instead of having the ability to render
 “ that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire,
 “ an additional strength to himself, it became
 “ the object of his jealousy, and a reason for
 “ undermining me.”

Presently after the accession of King George
 the first to the throne, in 1714, the seals were
 taken from the secretary, and all the papers in
 his office secured. However, during the short
 session of parliament at this juncture, he appli-
 ed himself with his usual industry and vigour,
 to keep up the spirit of the friends to the late
 administration, without omitting any proper
 occasion of testifying his respect and duty to
 his Majesty; in which spirit he assisted in set-
 tling the Civil List, and other necessary points.
 But, soon after the meeting of the new parlia-
 ment, he withdrew, and crossed the water pri-
 vately to France, in the latter end of March,
 1715.

Upon his arrival at Paris, he received an in-
 vitation from the Pretender, then at Barr, to
 engage in his service; which he absolutely
 refused,

refused, and made the best application that his present circumstances would admit, to prevent the extremity of his prosecution in England.

After a short stay at Paris, he retired into Dauphiné, where he continued 'till the beginning of July; when, upon receiving a message from some of his party in England, he complied with a second invitation from the Pretender; and taking the seals of the secretary's office under him at Commercy, he set out with them for Paris; in which city he arrived in the latter end of the same month, in order to procure from that court the necessary succours for his new master's intended invasion of England.

The vote for impeaching him of high-treason had passed in the house of commons on the tenth of June preceding, and six articles were sent up by them to the lords on the sixth of August following: in consequence of which he stood attainted of high treason, September 10th the same year.

They were brought into the house, and read by Mr. Walpole, August 4, 1715, and were in substance as follows: Art. 1. That whereas he had assured the ministers of the States-General, by order from her Majesty in 1711, that she would make no peace but in concert with them; yet he sent Mr. Prior to France that same year, with proposals of a treaty of peace with that monarch, without the consent of the Allies.

Art. 2. That he advised and promoted the making of a separate treaty, or convention, with France, which was signed in September.

Art. 3. That he disclosed to Mr. Mesnager, the French minister at London, this convention, which was the preliminary instructions to her Majesty Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht in October.

Art. 4. That her Majesty's final instructions to her said Plenipotentiaries were disclosed by him to the Abbot Gualtier, an emissary of France.

Art. 5. That he disclosed to the French the manner how Tournay in Flanders might be gained by them.

Art. 6. That he advised and promoted the yielding up of Spain and the West-Indies to the duke of Anjou, then an enemy to her Majesty.

It must not be concealed, that Sir Joseph Jekyl, a gentleman of the most unbiassed integrity, and great knowledge in the law, and a member of the secret committee, observed, that there was matter more than enough to prove the charge against lord Bolingbroke, at the same time that he declared his opinion, that they had nothing sufficient to support the charge against the earl of Oxford. His lordship, 'tis true, though he allows that they could have hold on no man so much as on himself; the instructions, the orders, the memorials for the peace, having been drawn by him; the correspondence relating to it, in France and

and every where else, carried on by him ; in a word, his hand appeared to almost every paper which had been writ in the whole course of the negotiation. Yet, speaking of the attainder, which, in consequence of this impeachment, had passed against him, for crimes, as he observes, of the blackest dye ; he takes notice, that, among other inducements to pass it, his having been engaged in the Pretender's interest was one. How well founded this article was, has already appeared ; I was just as guilty, says he, of the rest.

It is remarkable, that his new engagements had the same issue, as far as could be effected in the different circumstances of the two courts, and that the year 1715 was scarcely expired, when the seals and papers of his new secretary's office were demanded and given up, which was soon followed by an accusation branched into seven articles, wherein he was impeached of treachery, incapacity and neglect.

Thus discarded abroad, he resolved to make his peace, if possible, at home. He set himself immediately in earnest to his work, and in a short time, by that activity which was characteristic of his nature, and with which he constantly prosecuted all his designs, he procured, through the mediation of the earl of Stair, then the British ambassador at the French court, a promise of pardon, upon certain conditions, from his Majesty King George I. who, on the second of July, 1716, created his father

baron of Battersea in the county of Surry, and Viscount St. John.

Such an extraordinary variety of distressful events had thrown him into a state of reflection, and this produced, by way of relief, a *Consolatio Philosophica*, which he wrote the same year, under the title of *Reflections upon Exile*. He had also this year wrote several letters in answer to the charge laid upon him by the Pretender and his adherents; and the following year he drew up a vindication of his whole conduct with respect to the tories, in the form of a letter to Sir William Wyndham. He also took a more substantial method of supporting his spirits: his first lady being dead, he espoused about this time a lady of great merit, who was neice to the famous Madam de Maintenon, and widow of the Marquis de Villette; with whom he had a very large fortune, which was, however, encumbered with a long and troublesome lawsuit.

In the company and conversation of this lady, he passed his time in France, sometimes in the country, and sometimes at the capital, till 1723; in which year, after the breaking up of the Parliament, his Majesty was pleased to grant him a full and free pardon. Upon the first notice of this favour, the expectation of which had been the governing principle of his political conduct for several years, he returned to his native country.

It is observable, that bishop Atterbury, who was banished at this very juncture, happening, on his being set ashore at Calais, to hear that lord Bolingbroke was there, on his return to England, made this remark: Then I am exchanged. There was undoubtedly appearance enough of such a thing from the circumstances.

Bolingbroke's leave to return was granted, immediately after the act for banishing Atterbury had received the royal assent; and this leave was obtained at the pressing instance of lord Harcourt, who had shewed great warmth in prosecuting the bishop. We are told also, that Sir Robert Walpole, who was observed not to be particularly engaged against the latter, opposed the return of Bolingbroke very warmly in a speech at the council-board, when the motion for it was made by Harcourt.

Perhaps Mr. Pope alludes to this exchange, in a letter to Dean Swift, where he writes thus:

“The lord Bolingbroke is now returned,
 “as I hope, to take me, with all his other
 “hereditary rights. It is sure my ill fate,
 “that all those whom I most loved; and with
 “whom I most lived, must be banished. After
 “both of you left England, my constant host
 “was the bishop of Rochester. Sure this is
 “a nation, which is cursedly afraid of being
 “over run with too much politeness; and we
 “cannot:

“ cannot regain one great genius, but at the
 “ expence of another.”

And two years afterwards, having obtained an Act of Parliament to restore him to his family inheritance, and enabling him likewise to possess any purchase he should make of any other real or personal estates in the kingdom; he pitched upon a seat of lord Tankerville's, at Dawley near Uxbridge, in Middlesex, where he settled with his lady, and indulged the pleasure of gratifying the politeness of his taste, by improving it into a most elegant villa, picturesque of the present state of his fortune, and there amused himself with rural employments.

We have a sketch of his lordship's way of life at this retreat, in a letter to Dr. Swift by Mr. Pope, who omits no opportunity of representing his lordship in the most amiable colours. This letter is dated at Dawley, June 3, 1728, and begins thus:

“ I now hold the pen for my lord Boling-
 “ broke, who is reading your letter between
 “ two hay cocks; but his attention is some-
 “ what diverted, by casting his eyes on the
 “ clouds, not in admiration of what you say,
 “ but for fear of a shower. He is pleased
 “ with your placing him in the triumvirate
 “ between yourself and me; though he says,
 “ that he doubts he shall fare like Lepidus:
 “ while one of us runs away with all the
 “ power,

“ power, like Augustus ; and another with all
 “ the pleasure like Anthony. It is upon a
 “ a foresight of this, that he has fitted up his
 “ farm ; and you will agree, that this scheme
 “ of retreat is not founded upon weak appear-
 “ ances. Upon his return from Bath, he finds
 “ all peccant humours are purged out of him ;
 “ and his great temperance and ceconomy are
 “ so signal, that the first is fit for my constitu-
 “ tion, and the latter would enable you to lay
 “ up so much money, as to buy a bishoprick
 “ in England. As to the return of his health
 “ and vigour, were you here you might en-
 “ quire of his haymakers : but as to his tem-
 “ perance I can answer, that for one whole
 “ day we had nothing for dinner, but mutton-
 “ broth, beans and bacon, and a barn door
 “ fowl. — Now his lordship is run after his
 “ cart, I have a moment left to myself to tell
 “ you, that I overheard him yesterday agree
 “ with a Painter, for 200 pounds, to paint his
 “ country hall with rakes, spades, prongs, &c.
 “ and other ornaments, merely to countenance
 “ his calling this place a farm.”

So far Mr. Pope ; to which I will take leave
 to add, from ocular testimony, that it was
 painted accordingly ; and what still makes it
 more striking, the whole is executed in black
 crayons only : so that one cannot avoid calling
 to mind, on viewing it, the figures so often
 seen scratched with charcoal upon the kitchen
 walls of farm-houses. And to heighten the

same taste, we read over the door, at the entrance into it, this motto : *Satis beatus ruri honoribus*. In the same humour, likewise, his lordship writes to Dr. Swift.

“ I am in my farm, and here I shoot strong
 “ and tenacious roots ; I have caught hold of
 “ the earth, to use a Gardener’s phrase, and
 “ neither my enemies nor my friends will find
 “ it an easy matter to transplant me.”

Thus the tree was replanted, took root, and flourished. But still it bore not the fruit that was most desired, and for want of which the owner looked upon it as little better than a barren trunk ; he was in effect, yet no more than a meer titular lord, and still stood excluded from a seat in the house of Peers.

Inflamed with this taint that yet remained in his blood, he entered again, in 1726, upon the public stage ; and disavowing all obligations to the minister, he embarked in the opposition ; and taking that share in it for which he was best suited by his circumstances, he soon distinguished himself by a multitude of pieces, wrote during the short remainder of that reign, and likewise for several years under the late, with great freedom and boldness, against the measures that were then pursued.

In the height of these political disputes, he found some spare hours for the meditations of Philosophy, and drew up several essays upon
 the

the subject of metaphysics. Having carried on his part of the siege against the minister, with inimitable spirit for ten years; he laid down his pen, upon a disagreement with his principal coadjutors: and, in 1735, he retired to France, in a full resolution never more to engage in public business.

It has been observed, that, in the prosecution of this controversy, our statesman found himself obliged, from the beginning, to recommend the earl of Oxford's old scheme under the coalition of parties (then called the Broad-bottom Scheme) the Tories being at this time out of any condition to aim at places and power, except as auxiliaries: and it may be added, that he joined with a person who had shewn the same conduct with regard to Sir Robert Walpole, as he had done to the earl of Oxford. However, his lordship was resolved to push it as far as possible; and when some suspicions began to arise in him of the fidelity of his new friends, Mr. Pope says he gave him a hint of it in the first lines of his *Essay on Man*.

Awake, my St. John, leave all meaner things:
To low ambition, and the pride of kings.

But this had not the desired effect. In answer to that friend's suggestions he writes thus:

“ The strange situation I am in, and the melancholy situation of public affairs, take up much of my time, divide or even dissipate my thoughts ; or, which is worse, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philosophical tone or temper to the drudgery of private and public business. The last lies nearest my heart. And, since I am once more engaged in the service of my country, disarmed, gagg’d, and almost bound as I am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity and perseverance of those who are under none of these disadvantages, and with whom I now co-operate, make it reasonable for me to act the same part.”

Accordingly he read such lectures as still kept people together ; and, to his credit, it cannot be denied, as a political writer, that he managed the whole affair with the utmost dexterity ; and very happily threw out a system of policy, so curiously contrived, that a man might enter into and pursue the public business of the nation (if with any propriety a controversy carried on for the sake of power by a set of men in any place whatever may be so called) without deserting, in his own opinion at least, his private notions of government. But when he saw the threads which he had wove together begin actually to untwist, and was satisfied his new friends would shew their party-principles

ples as soon as the line of opposition was cut, then he declared, that no shadow of duty obliged him to go further.

Plato, he observes, ceased to act for the commonwealth when he ceased to persuade : and Solon laid down his arms before the public magazines, when Pisistratus grew too strong to be opposed any longer with hopes of success.

His lordship followed these examples, but not without collecting his utmost force to give a parting-blow to the minister; which, in reality, of all his masterly pieces is generally esteemed the best.

He had now seen through the sixtieth year of his age, and had passed through as great a variety of scenes, both of pleasure and business, in active life, as any of his contemporaries. He had gone as far towards reinstating himself in the full possession of his former honours as the meer dint of parts and application could go ; and was at length experimentally convinced, that the decree was absolutely irreversible, and the door was finally shut against him.

If, in the decline of his life, he became less conspicuous, he became more amiable, and he was far from suffering the hours to slide away unusefully.

He had not been long at his retreat near Fontainebleau, when he began a course of Letters on the Study and Use of History, for the use of a young nobleman of distinguished worth and capacity.

In the mean time it was evident, that a person of so active an ambition as he was tempered with, must lie greatly open to ridicule, in assuming a resigned philosophical air of study and contemplation. He saw it, and, to obviate the censure, he addressed a letter to lord Bathurst, upon the True Use of Retirement and Study; where we see he had no intention, by shifting the scene, to drop the opposition to the minister, but only to change a little the method of attack. We will, however, shew the reader what he himself says in his defence to avoid this suspected ridicule.

“ To set about acquiring the habits of meditation and study, late in life, is like getting into a go-cart with a grey beard, and learning to walk when we have lost the use of our legs. In general, the foundation of a happy old age must be laid in youth; and, in particular, he who has not cultivated his reason young, will be utterly unable to improve it old. *Manent ingenia senibus, modo permanente studium & industria.*

“ Not only a love of study, and a desire of knowledge, must have grown up with us, but such an industrious application likewise, as requires the whole vigour of the mind to be exerted in the pursuit of truth, through long trains of ideas, and all those dark recesses, wherein man; not God, has hid it.

This love, and this desire, I have felt all my life; and I am not quite a stranger to this industry

industry and application. There has been something always ready to whisper in my ear, whilst I ran the course of pleasure and business, *Solve senescentem mature sanus equum*. But my genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whispered so softly, that very often I heard him not in the hurry of those passions by which I was transported; some calmer hours there were, in them I hearkened to him; reflection had often its turn; and the love of study, and the desire of knowledge, have never quite abandoned me. I am not therefore entirely unprepared for the life I will lead; and it is not without reason that I promise myself more satisfaction in the latter part of it, than I ever knew in the former."

The plan of his designed attack he carried on in several pieces, executed with a spirit no ways unequal to that of his former productions.

Upon the death of his father, in 1724, he settled at Battersea, the ancient seat of his family; where he passed the remainder of his life in such a dignity, as was the natural result of the elevation of his genius, perfected by long experience, many disappointments, and much reflection; resolving, since he could not obtain his seat again in the house of peers, never more to meddle in public affairs.

After the conclusion of the late inauspicious war, in 1747, the measures taken in the administration

ministration seem not to have been repugnant to his notions of political prudence for that juncture; and what these were, is seen, in part, in some reflections written by him in 1749, On the Present State of the Nation, principally with Regard to her Taxes and Debts, and on the Causes and Consequences of them.

This undertaking was left unfinished, nor did he survive it long. He had often wished to fetch his last breath at Battersea; a circumstance which happened to him on the fifteenth of November, 1751, on the verge of fourscore years of age.

His corpse was interred with those of his ancestors, in that church; where there is a marble monument erected to his memory, with this inscription:

Here lies

Henry St John;

In the reign of Queen Anne

Secretary of War, Secretary of State,

And Viscount Bolingbroke.

In the the days of King George I.

And King George II.

Something more and better.

His attachment to Queen Anne

Exposed him to a long and severe persecution.

He bore it with firmness of mind.

The enemy of no national party,

The friend of no faction.

Distinguished

Distinguished under the cloud of a proscription,
 Which had not been entirely taken off,
 By zeal to maintain the libetty
 And to restore the ancient prosperity
 Of Great Britain.

He survived all his brothers ; so that the estate and honour descended to his nephew, the present lord viscount Bolingbroke and St. John, whom he constituted likewise his testamentary-heir : and, as his lady died many years before him, so the disputes in law about her fortune happening to be finally determined about the time of his decease, by that lucky event, the nephew reaped the whole benefit of his uncle's kindness immediately.

His lordship left the care and advantage of his manuscripts to Mr. Mallet, who published three tracts, in one volume 8vo, in 1753, and four volumes more the following year ; in which the trustee, it seems, consulted his own profit more than his noble benefactor's fame ; as appears from a presentment of the grand-jury of Westminster, made on the sixteenth of October the same year, 1754, of these posthumous works in four volumes, " as tending, in the general scope of several pieces therein contained, as well as many particular expressions which had been laid before them, to the subversion of religion, government, and morality ; and being also against his majesty's peace."

Indeed

Indeed it is almost needless to tell the world now, that, in respect to his religion, he was undoubtedly what is sometimes understood by the denomination of an atheist. But, however this part of his conduct may be censured, yet, with all his passions, and with all his faults, he will perhaps, as the writer of his life observes, be acknowledged, by posterity in general, as I think he is by the majority of the present age, to have been, in many respects, one of the most extraordinary persons who adorned it.

In his exterior, he was wonderfully agreeable. He had a dignity mixed with sweetness in his looks, and a manner that would have captivated the heart, if his person had been ever so indifferent. He was remarkable for his vivacity, and had a prodigious memory. He was a statesman, an orator, a leader of party; was brought into business early, pursued it through the most vigorous part of his life; enjoyed the smiles, endured the frowns, of fortune; and was, besides, a man of learning, reflection, and wit.

With all these qualities, and I think his enemies will allow that he had them all, he could scarce write any thing that did not deserve to be read and to be studied. When this is said, however, we must confine ourselves to the subjects to which these characters belong; for he sometimes, as we see, made excursions into others, of which he neither was, nor could

could be expected to be, a perfect master : and upon them he wrote like other men. In reality, there is not much danger of being misled by him in these matters : the same wisdom that directs us not to take our politics from priests, exclaims against receiving our religion from a politician ; it is in that character that he excels.

We generally, and indeed justly, prefer such writers as have an opportunity of being practically, as well as speculatively, acquainted with the subjects on which they write. Demosthenes and Cicero were statesmen as well as orators. Cæsar was conspicuous for his learning, as well as his abilities, in the camp and in the cabinet : his Commentaries are a proof of it ; and the critic spoke truly who said, that he wrote with the same spirit with which he fought. Machiavel was alike versed in business and in books ; and that is the true reason why his merit is confessed even by those who abhor his maxims. In our own country, the writings of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the noble historian, are justly esteemed at a higher rate than those of men who had not the like opportunities of penetrating to the very bottom of the springs and causes of those transactions which they undertook to examine, and to criticize as well as to record.

From the very same motives, the works of this ingenious writer have merited, and, in all probability, will continue to merit, attention
and

and applause. He lived to see the opening of that glorious prospect which he speaks of, at the winding up of his Idea of a Patriot King, in these rapturous terms :

“ Those who live to see such happy days, and to act in so glorious a scene, will, perhaps, call to mind, with some tenderness of sentiment, when he is no more, a man who contributed his mite to carry on so good a work, and who desired life for nothing so much, as to see a King of Great-Britain the most popular man in his country, and a Patriot King at the head of a united people.”

What he meant perhaps as a compliment is become a kind of prophecy, fulfilled in the amplest manner. It may serve as a monumental inscription. If it had been more extended, it would have been a sort of funeral oration of himself upon himself. It seems he delighted to the last in regarding distant prospects ; and shut out the idea of dissolution by contemplating the effects of his political doctrines in ages beyond his own. And it cannot be denied, that, while either faction or freedom remains among us, his writings on that subject will pave their merit and use. This they always had : but my meaning is, that they will have it now in an advanced and extraordinary degree : death, in removing him out of the reach of envy, and the rage of jealousy,

lousy, has extended the utility, and fixed the immortality, of his writings. Their reputation will now rest upon their merit, without suffering any diminution from the failings of their author: failings he had, and who has them not? Were the ministers he opposed without failings? But these did not infect his writings. Those were products of his cooler hours, and shew us the noble efforts of a great genius, when conducted and supported by experience. They open to us all the secret springs and hidden mechanism, not of our constitution, for that is nobly plain and gracefully simple; but of the executive powers, and the administration of government; how these may be disordered, spoiled, and broken; how they may be discerned from the motions of the Machine; and how these errors may be repaired or prevented. While he lived, his testimony was ever impeached, by a suggestion that his aim was to have the direction of the Pendulum: but that can be said no more. All his skill, all his acuteness, all his sagacity, are now useless to the Artist: but we are consoled for this, by the consideration, that they may be so much the more useful to us and to our country.

Such is the elogium given of him by the writer of the *Memoirs of his Life*; who, having cast them into the form of Letters to a Young Gentleman, closes the whole in the following words:

“ My

“ My pen has been employed in shewing you, this is no panegyric, but a just tribute to merit; and the rest of the world will gradually learn this from the writings themselves, which will be now read with less prejudice and more respect. His writings are the Monuments which he consecrated to posterity; and, though He is now no more, These will last For Ever.”

His lordship was esteemed, almost to a degree of adoration, by the first poet of his age; who has blazoned his character with the brightest colours that wit could invent, or fondness bestow, by immortalizing both his own fame, and that of his noble friend, at whose persuasion, and by whose assistance, this incomparable didactic poem, his Essay on Man, was begun and executed.

Come on, my friend, my genius come along;
Oh, master of the Poet and the Song!

And, while the Muse now stoops, or now
ascends,

To man's low passions, and their glorious
ends,

Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
To fall with dignity, with temper rise:

Form'd by thy converse happily to steer,
From gay to grave, from lively to severe;

Correct with spirit, elegant with ease,

Intent to reason, or polite to please.

Oh!

Oh! while along the stream of time, thy name
 Expanded flies, and gathers all it's fame;
 Say, shall my little bark attend the sail,
 Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?
 When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust re-
 pose,
 Whose sons will blush their fathers were thy
 foes,
 Shall this thy verse to future age pretend,
 'Thou wer't my guide, philosopher, and friend?
 That, urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful
 art,
 From sound, to things; from fancy, to the
 heart:
 For wit's false mirror hold up nature's light,
 Shew erring man, Whatever is, is right:
 That reason, passions, answer one great aim;
 That true self-love and social are the same:
 That Virtue only makes our Bliss below;
 And all our Knowledge is--Ourselves to Know?

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

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VOL. XII.



L O N D O N;
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Aveline
Earl of Stair.



T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



T H E L I F E O F
J O H N D A L R Y M P L E .

JOHN DALRYMPLE, earl of Stair, the eldest son of John, viscount, afterwards earl, of Stair, by the lady Elizabeth Dundas, daughter to Sir John Dundas of Newliston, was born upon the twentieth of July, 1673 ; and, even while an infant, discovered such charms as prognosticated his future greatness. He mustered up a regiment of young boys of his own age, denominating them after his own name ; and it was surprising to observe, in how short a time they were enabled to go through the several evolutions of the military exercise, while their alacrity,

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crity, when under the eye of their great commander, gave a sure prelude of that superior greatness of soul which afterwards appeared in him, and procured him both the confidence of his king and admiration of his country. Like another Cyrus, he discouraged every thing that was dastardly and unbecoming in the young gentlemen of his own age; and, with the utmost address, encouraged what was manly, becoming, and virtuous in them.

Scarce was he arrived at the age of ten years, when he made the most surprising progress in the Greek and Latin tongues; and, being well acquainted with these, the French became easy to him. He was trained up by a governor for some years, and then put to the college of Edinburgh under a guardian, where he had run through the whole course of his studies in that seminary at the fourteenth year of his age; and was designed by his father for the law; but, his genius being turned for the sword, he applied himself that way.

He left the college of Edinburgh in the year 1683, and went over to Holland; where he passed through the several degrees of preferment under the eye of that distinguished and august commander king William III. then prince of Orange, who shewed him great respect in the sight of his officers, and treated him with the tenderness of an affectionate father.

It was here that this noble lord learned fortification and gunnery, which he afterwards so well

well improved, under the eye of the famous Coehorn; and laid the foundation of that free and disinterested spirit which he breathed in every air, and practised in every clime, for the service of his country; and it was here that he learned several of the languages of Europe; such as, French, Spanish, German, Italian, and Dutch; every one of which he spoke in such purity, that one could not distinguish his dialect from that of a native of each country; and would have been tempted to think, he was born in the metropolis, which generally excels any other places of the kingdom wherein it stands, as much in the elegance of accent, as in the politeness of behaviour and fashion of their habit and dress.

At the time of the late glorious revolution, he came over to Scotland, and in so particular a manner laid down the hardships of the Protestants, as to draw compassion from all who heard him; and, by a just representation of the design of the house of Bourbon, which at that time he could so shrewdly guess at, confirmed those who were already engaged for the prince of Orange in the good opinion they had formed of his cause, and prevailed upon others to embark in the scheme. In a word, he did the most substantial services; for, being with his father and grandfather at the convention of the states, he seconded their arguments with the most nervous reasoning; and, like another Gustavus, moved the passions of the audience, who were charmed to see such a noble tender-

ness and unaffected sympathy in a young man, whose gesture and mein commanded admiration from all who heard him.

He was among the first to declare for king William: and, with joy to receive the deliverer of the nation, went up, with his father, to London, where he was joyfully received, and taken into his majesty's service, whom he attended to Ireland, continued with him, as one of his life-guards, during all his military excursions in that kingdom; and acted the most heroic part at that time that possibly could have been expected from the most enterprising officer. He also accompanied his majesty on his return to England, attended him while there, and set out with him at his majesty's departure for Holland on the sixth of January, 1691; but, as the winds proved contrary, the king was obliged to return to Kensington, where he stayed for some few days, till the breaking of the frost; when he went to Gravesend, and, with a convoy of men of war, stood to the coast of Holland; where, coming off the Goree, he left the yacht wherein he was, went off with three shallops, in company with the duke of Ormond, the lord-steward, and lord-high-chamberlain, the earls of Portland and Monmouth, and mynheers Overkirk and Zuleskin: but, through the difficulties of the ice, that came down in shoals, and the fogginess of the weather, they remained at sea all night, but arrived at the Goree next morning.

Here

Here he took a small refreshment, and immediately again taking boat soon landed at Oramenhack, where he was met and complimented by the deputies of the states, and then passed to the Hague, where the populace raised the most joyful acclamations, while he entered through the triumphal arches erected in honour of the wonders he had done.

Never was prince more regaled than king William III. and never were those in the retinue of a king, among which Mr Dalrymple made a considerable figure, more caressed than those who attended the hero: nor were the states-general single in paying him their compliments; for ambassadors arrived from several courts in Germany, to congratulate him on his success, and to enter into new engagements with him for supporting of the liberties of Europe; to which they were animated by the lively representation made by his majesty, of the critical juncture of affairs; and came into the resolution of raising two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France; whereof twenty thousand were to be raised from the national British forces.

As these regiments were to be raised, his majesty conferred a colonel's commission upon this his faithful servant; with which he served under his great commander at the battle of Steenkirk, where the English bravery shone with the brightest lustre; for, though they could not force a camp fortified with hedges, and lined by cannon advantageously posted

upon eminences, yet they cut off the flower of the French troops, with five hundred officers, who lay dead on the spot.

But, among those who engaged, none distinguished himself more than Mr. Dalrymple; he several times rallied his regiment, when the ranks were broken by the devouring cannon, and brought them back to the charge; performed miracles of bravery with them, and was instrumental in saving many troops from being cut in pieces, as he stopped the pursuit till they had time to rally and renew the attack.

Though the Allies were unsuccessful in Flanders, yet they carried all before them in the main. At La Hogue the French fleet was almost destroyed; and her trade, by means of several large captures taken from her, in a manner wholly rained. At Landen there was a second battle; and, though it be true, that the king of England was obliged to yield the field to numbers, yet he had more glory than even if victory had crowned his standards. The misfortune of Landen, indeed, happened through the fault of a strange officer; but, could it be more gloriously, and more advantageously repaired, than by that admirable presence of mind, with which king William saved the rest of the army? In time of trouble, into which such disorders throw an ordinary general, people usually look upon the bringing the shattered remains of the routed army, who were saved in the fight, toward the frontiers
of

of their own country, as an uncommon stroke of prudence ; but this illustrious hero, whose views were always more extended, and more just than those of other men, made them rendezvous upon the borders of the enemy ; favoured the retreat of his forces, fighting as he gave back more like a conqueror than like one that was vanquished ; obliging, by this march and resolution, several princes of Germany to join their troops to his own ; and commanded, some time after, at the famous siege of Namur ; where fortune seconded so well his efforts for gaining the place, in sight of the whole French army, commanded by one of the most experienced officers of the time, that she deserved to be pardoned for the injustice of having abandoned him at the commencement of the campaign ; and, as by her frowns she protracted the war, so by this one smile she ended it, to the honour and satisfaction of the Allies ; and brought on the peace of Ryswick in 1695.

Short lived ; however, was this repose after so long and terrible a commotion ; for the flame of war was not extinguished, but only covered by some political ashes, that were thrown upon the heart of the grand monarch, who waited for a plausible pretext of setting fire to the coals, which seemed to be wholly quenched.

Charles II. who was then king of Spain, being in a very bad state of health, and having no male issue of his own body, was in

great perplexity about settling the succession to his hereditary dominions. On the one hand, he preferred the interest of his own family to that of the house of Bourbon, from whom both he and his ancestors had received so many injuries; and was strongly solicited by his queen, who was sister to the empress, and by the ministers of the emperor, to dispose of his dominions in favour of the arch-duke Charles, his second son. On the other hand, the partisans of France, who were about his catholic majesty, were artfully insinuating to him, the expediency and advantage that would accrue to Spain in particular, and to the catholic religion in general, should the former be settled under the protection of the most Christian king.

The renunciations of his aunt and sister, the one mother, the other wife, to Lewis XIV: were demonstrated by them to be null by the laws of Spain; and, consequently, that the article of giving up all pretensions to the Spanish succession, in the partition-treaty, was, *ipso facto*, void to all intents and purposes; for, that no forms whatever were sufficient to alter the nature of things.

These arguments would have had but little force, if one more cogent had not been advanced; viz. That, as this point was dubious, there was fear of stirring up the greatest powers against one another; and, that this might be the instrument of much bloodshed: "For which," added these crafty statesmen, "you

“ you will be answerable at a higher tribunal, whether your guilt be contracted by delaying to set your house in order, or by a rash and unjust disposal of your dominions.”

These arguments much distracted the mind of the king, who had recourse to the usual way of those of the Romish communion; viz. to ask the pope's advice in this perplexed and intricate matter. The holy father, and his conclave of cardinals, determined in favour of France; and the ministers of that court at Madrid, did all in their power to bring to perfection the darling project, of putting Spain, and the Indies, into the hands of their monarch: and, so artfully did they contrive the business, as, by large promises and well-placed sums, to gain over the principal favourites at court: some do not even scruple to say, that, when the will was presented to the Spanish monarch to be signed, in favour of the arch-duke Charles, a younger branch of the house of Austria, just when he was about to take the pen in his hand, some chicane or other was made use of to cause him to turn about; which while he did, another was instantly substituted in its place, and subscribed by him.

The Spanish monarch survived this last deed but a short time, for he died in about a fortnight after, on the first of November, 1700; and scarce was he dead when a letter was written by the regency, at the head of which was the artful cardinal Portocarre, in-

timating this settlement of succession to his most Christian majesty, who told the Spanish ambassador, the marquis de Castel dos Rios, that he was very sorry for the loss which Europe in general, and Spain in particular, had sustained by the loss of so great a king; and, though he had all possible intentions to gratify the wishes of the Spanish nation, in sending the duke of Anjou among them as their sovereign, according to their ardent desire, for which he heartily thanked them; yet the ticklish state of affairs of Europe, at that time, would not admit of making too hasty a step in so important an affair; but that, on every occasion, he was ready to promote the interest and glory of the Spanish nation.

The question, that had long been debated, Whether it was necessary to enter into war with France? was no longer doubtful: the thing was resolved on; and, in that same month, a grand alliance, defensive and offensive, was concluded between the emperor, the king, and the states-general, in order effectually to thwart the designs of France, and obtain full satisfaction for each of the contracting parties.

Now had king William a fair opportunity of being avenged on the French monarch; for the British soldiers, who were but raw when he came to the throne, were now hardy veterans, and the officers had learned the art of war under that great commander: but Heaven was pleased to put an end to so valuable

ble a life upon the eighth of March, in the year 1702.

This sudden event gave a shock to the grand alliance; but yet did not prove so fatal as some at first imagined; because the army, though deprived of king William's presence, were yet actuated by his temper, and breathed nothing but a spirit of valour, in imitation of his glorious exploits.

Seven hours after the expiration of that deliverer of Europe, William III. of Orange and of England, the privy-council sat; and the queen, who was that very day proclaimed in London, gave them the strongest assurances, in a pathetic and moving speech, of her unalterable resolution to pursue the measures taken by her glorious predecessor. The members of the privy-council were continued, and king William's favourites were only preferred. The duke of Marlborough was appointed general of her forces by the late king's recommending him to her service as a man of a cool head and a warm heart, proper to encounter the genius of France, and put a stop to her designs of enslaving all Europe.

His grace was accordingly sent over to Holland, as ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary, with her letter to the states, condoling them upon the death of the king, and declaring her intentions to maintain all her alliances, preserve the peace of Europe, and reduce the power of France.

The queen of England being crowned upon the twenty-third of April, 1702, immediately called a council; in which, after a full debate, it was agreed to declare war against France; and the resolution being afterwards approved by the commons, the same was proclaimed upon the fourth of May, with the usual solemnities.

The reasons assigned were principally these: The French king's keeping possession of all the Spanish dominions, seized upon Milan and the Netherlands, making himself master of the entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the ports in the Spanish East-Indies, by his fleets: and for offering so great an affront and indignity to the queen and her kingdoms, as to declare, jointly with Spain, then solely under his influence, the pretended prince of Wales, king of Great-Britain. The Dutch soon followed; and, for every side, there were the most unheard of preparations.

The prince of Nassau-Saasbruck opened the campaign with the siege of Keiserswaert, a small but strong town in the electorate of Cologne. This place cost a vast trouble before it fell into the hands of the besiegers; for, from the sixteenth of April, the elements on the one hand, and Tallard on the other, annoyed them so, that, though they had reduced the town to a heap of rubbish, and battered the outworks with forty-eight cannon and thirty mortars, yet, till the ninth of June, they
did

did not dare to attack it by storm ; but then they made a lodgment upon the counterescarp, notwithstanding a most desperate and obstinate resistance, which forced the besieged to give up the place on honourable terms, but the fort was razed according to agreement.

The taking of this place was matter of consternation to the French soldiery ; to recover them from which, marshal Boufflers, being joined by count Tallard and the duke of Burgundy's corps, marched off silently to Nimueguen : and, notwithstanding the resolute behaviour of the inhabitants, who planted one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon on the walls, to give them a warm reception, he might have possessed himself of that key into the United Netherlands, had not the earl of Athlone, upon the first advice of this march, broke up, and, by a more hasty march than that of the enemy, arrived in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen half an hour before the French could get up, and so saved that important fortress.

Landau surrendered to prince Lewis of Baden, after a siege of three months, on the tenth of September ; and the French got a check before Hulst, while Sas Vangent, and many other places, with a surprising alacrity, and unwearied diligence, put themselves in a posture of defence.

This, with their disappointment at Nimeguen, so enraged the French, that they plundered the city of Cleves, and made the defenceless.

fenceless country feel the effects of their revenge; which was a little allayed by a prodigy of valour executed by the brave colonel Gravesteins, who, by a sudden march with three hundred horse, came up to reconnoitre the enemy; and, meeting a party of four hundred cavalry, he fell upon them, notwithstanding their fire, sabre in hand, and killed about half of their party. This action cost him six or seven wounds, the only price he paid for so great a treasure of applause.

Such was the state of the campaign when the duke of Marlborough, now declared master-general of the ordnance, arrived from England, in quality of ambassador, and captain-general, at the Hague; whence, after settling every thing, by conferences, in which his sentiments prevailed, even though contrary to the general voice of the assembly, he set out for the army, whose hearts he gained by a modest use of that power wherewith he was intrusted.

He soon saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, then encamped at Duckenbourg: where, in a council of war, it was resolved to march in pursuit of the enemy, who retreated as he advanced, and left the Confederates in possession of the Spanish Guelderland.

It was during this march, that the earl of Stair first contracted an intimacy with the duke of Marlborough; who, observing his alacrity and resolution, and the unbounded courage of
the

the most fiery soldier, mixed with the wisdom and conduct of the greyest hairs, became particularly fond of him ; and, though the duke, by a national prejudice, was not so fond of encouraging Scotsmen, yet true merit affected the heart of the hero where-ever it was to be found. He observed in Mr. Dalrymple, for that was the name under which he went, a bravery and courage equal to the most dangerous enterprizes, and, at the same time, a conduct capable of extricating himself from the most apparent difficulties.

From Petit-Brugel, where the French camp was, they were obliged to move on the approach of the Confederates. On the second of August, the army marched to demolish the walls of Peer and Bray, two small towns in the bishopric of Liege, which the enemy held for securing their convoys. They attacked the first of these places with a bravery only to be inspired by such officers as then had the command. Every officer and every soldier vied with each other in distinguishing himself under the eye of his august commander ; but none more than the noble gentleman whose life we are now writing ; for he, being made colonel of the Royal North British Dragoons, upon the ninth of March, 1702, endeavoured to raise the reputation of that regiment ; and, being sent to support a battery, he stood at the head of his regiment, for several hours, while the troops were falling on each hand of him, without the least alteration of countenance or desire

desire to draw off, notwithstanding a furious cannonade from that quarter of the town.

Never was man more generous to the officers, or more popular among the soldiers, than he; for he so animated them by his example, by his motion and voice, that, after having made a sufficient breach in the walls, he marched up, sword in hand, amidst showers of fire and of smok; was the first to scale the ladder, with a drawn sword in one hand, and pistol in the other; awarded the blow of a grenadier, which was aimed at him, shot him dead on the spot, and mounted the wall, almost like another Alexander, when he leaped into the city of Oxidraques, single and alone. The troops soon followed so glorious an example, and crowded about their leader, then exposed to the fire, not only of the batteries, but of the small arms of the enemy, who, being driven from their posts in confusion, communicated the consternation among their comrades, who quickly deserted the town.

The news of the taking Peer was carried quickly through the army, which resounded the praises of the earl of Stair, until another action, no way more glorious, but of greater consequence in the event, effaced the memory of that most surprising exploit.

A very lucky circumstance happened for raising the reputation of our noble hero; for, as the English soldiers, in general, were discontented with the Dutch, for opposing the duke of Marlborough's proposal to engage the French,

French, which at once might have ended the war, they were the more enraged when they saw what prodigies he had wrought by his bravery and conduct; and reasoned thus: "What could not an army of soldiers like these have done in the open field, since barricadoes, pallisadoes, ditches, lunettes, ravelines, placed in the most due proportion from one another, built in the most commodious manner for their mutual defence, and planted with rows of devouring cannon, were unable to sustain their charge?"

Whether this reasoning was unjust or no, I leave to others to determine, and shall only observe, that every colonel in the confederate army, must not be supposed to have equalled the conduct and intrepidity of the immortal earl of Stair.

The undaunted courage shewn by his regiment upon this occasion, threw a damp upon the French army; and, though secured by morasses and entrenchments, and superior in numbers, they refused to wait the coming up of the Allies, but silently decamped in the night; while the duke of Burgundy, ashamed of that inactivity, which ended so ingloriously for him, repaired to Versailles, leaving the command to marshal Boufflers, who was only dextrous in commanding a flying camp, bombarding a city, or seizing a post by surprise.

The Dutch army, who, before the coming of the duke of Marlborough, were obliged to
retreat

retreat under the cannon of Nimeguen, saw the enemy now flying in their turn, and avoiding a battle with as much care as the duke was eager to engage them, either flying precipitately before him, or posting themselves behind places that were inaccessible. They decamped on the eighteenth of August, in order to secure the navigation of the Maese, by driving the enemy from their fortresses, and so relieving Maestricht, then almost blocked up.

There is a very strong town in the territory of Ruremond, in Spanish Guelderland, called Venlo, situated on the edge of an island formed by the confluence of the Maese with the little rivulet Haven; it lies near the little rivulet of Juliers, ten miles south-west of Gueldres, and eleven north of Ruremond. To this place did the Allies bend their course; sat down before it on the twenty-fifth; and opened their trenches, on both sides the Maese, on the the twenty-seventh, without losing a man; having planted their batteries of sixty four cannons, twenty-four mortar pieces and howitzers, and a vast number of Coehorn-mortars.

As the place was well stored with provisions, and the count de Varo, the governor, was resolved on a vigorous defence, the siege went on but slowly, till the 7th of September, when the Lord Cutts attacked fort St. Michael, between the bastion which is next the plain, and the ravelin which lies on the north side
of

of it. He had under him the Royal Irish, then commanded by Mr Stair, general Henkcom's regiment, with one hundred and seventy-two grenadiers, and one hundred fusiliers, under a lieutenant-colonel; as also three hundred workmen, with a competent number of engineers. The grenadiers, animated by the promises of that brave lord, cleared the counterescarp with their fire, avoided a mine, attacked the ravelin sword in hand, and made a dreadful slaughter. The way being now paved out, his lordship marched up with all his forces, engaged the enemy, and soon became master of the ravelin: but their possession of it was far from being quiet or peaceable, for the French fired incessantly from the rampart of the fort; on which the grenadiers threw in their grenadoes, attacked the fort sword in hand, and drove the enemy from it so hastily, that they had not time to break down their bridges, though supported by their grenadiers, who hotly disputed it, by fire and push of pike, from the flank of one of their bastions. They quickly were in possession of the place, and begun a dreadful havock, it being almost impossible to check the fury of the soldiers for some time. The troops of the fort, to the number of six hundred, were either killed or drowned, except eighty, who passed the Maese in small boats, and so escaped with their lives.

Never was a bolder action in any campaign; never did officers and soldiers act with
more

more intrepidity: but, of them all, none signalized himself more than Mr. Stair. He was the first to climb up the rampart, and force his way into the fort; and, no sooner was he on the wall, than he flew into the thickest ranks of the enemy, killing and wounding all who came near him. Several others, such as the earl of Huntington, the duke of Argyle, and Lord Mark Ker, gave most convincing proofs of their bravery. Four days after, the news of the surrender of Landau being brought to the camp, great rejoicings were made: the soldiers drew up in order of battle, and a triple discharge from their cannon and small arms was made; which being taken by the besieged for a signal of a general attack, the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered the place, upon condition of being conducted to Antwerp, with their arms and baggage, but without any cannon or mortars, on which they insisted at first; but gave up that last point. During this siege, which lasted four weeks, the besieged lost as many men as the besiegers, but more commissioned officers. The French, to make amends for their loss of Venlo, marched to Hulst; but were so much galled by the cannon of the fort of the Great Kykuyt, that they were obliged to retire, with the loss of six hundred men.

But, though the French miscarried in their designs, yet the duke of Marlborough always carried his point; Ruremond and Stevenswaert; surrendered by capitulation, in sight of
 marshal

marshal Boufflers and the whole French army. These conquests, though considerable in themselves, were not sufficient to satisfy the active soul of his grace, who immediately resolved upon the bombarding of Liege, to which he moved at the head of the Confederate army; and, in his way, having notice of the place where marshal Boufflers designed to be one day at noon, he marched so early as to be at the place before him; and, in all probability, the whole troops under that general must have been cut to pieces, or taken, they being within shot of their enemy 'ere they were aware, had not the Dutch, a second time, rejected the proposal of fighting: and, as the French decamped by favour of the night, so the Allies marched, about one in the morning, from their post at Souleendale, to Liege, on the first of October; and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, came within cannon shot of the citadel. About sun-set, the troops were so formed, as effectually to block up the town, in which were twelve battalions of foot, fifty pieces of cannon and mortars mounted, with plenty of ammunition, and all other necessities.

The town quickly fell into the hands of the conqueror; for the magistrates surrendered on condition that the citadel should not be attacked on the side of the city, in order to prevent its being entirely destroyed. The keys were delivered into the duke of Marlborough's own hands; and, on the 7th, the trenches were

were opened before the great citadel, by four English battalions on the right, one of which was commanded by the deceased lord; and by a like number of the troops of the United Provinces.

That very evening the Allies attacked the enemy's entrenchments, which they forced and maintained. Two days after, the batteries being mounted with forty-four cannon and twelve mortars, furiously played upon the citadel, and blew up a magazine of the enemies, in which were one thousand bombs and grenadoes, with several barrels of powder. Next day they not only set on fire another magazine, in which were six hundred grenadoes ready filled, but dismounted the batteries of the enemy: and, on the third day, two more magazines were set on fire by the bombs. In the evening some small mortars and grenadoes, the invention of M. Coehorn, played with a success unprecedented till that time.

That great engineer, having observed the breach made by the batteries, advised the duke of Marlborough to attack the counterscarp that afternoon; which proposal being accepted, the battalions who opened the trenches began the attack, about four o'clock, under cover of the cannon which had blown up four magazines. They marched boldly up to the breach, not firing, though highly provoked to it, till within pistol-shot of the counterscarp, which they attacked with a fury that obliged the enemy to retire; and, ob-
serving

serving their consternation, they got upon the covered way, passed the ditch, mounted the breach at once and took the place sword in hand.

It is impossible to describe the resolution of the Allies, but, particularly, the British troops, upon this occasion. The prince of Hesse Cassel, afterwards king of Sweden, voluntarily headed the grenadiers, was the first to mount the breach, and wrest the colours from a French officer; and here it was that this generous hero first contracted an intimacy with the deceased lord, of whose intrepidity and valour he had been an eye-witness, and to whom he was indebted for the preservation of his valuable life: for, as his highness mounted, an officer was upon the point of cutting him through with a sabre, and infallibly he must have died there, and so would have had no opportunity of adorning the Swedish nation, had he not been rescued by the earl of Stair, who shot the officer dead upon the spot, with a pistol that was tied about him by a cord. The little fort of the Chartreuse was quickly surrendered to the victorious Allies, who only lost one hundred and forty-three soldiers killed, and three hundred and sixty wounded, with about twenty officers of note. This was indeed a loss to the Allies, but a small price for so important a place and so glorious a conquest; upon which medals were struck, to perpetuate the fame of so noble an action.

In

In short, so similar were the mutual abilities and success of these two great generals, the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Stair, in their succeeding campaigns, that the French were every where so much baffled, that, except in Spain, where they took Tortosa and Alicant, fortune did not so much as smile upon them throughout either; so that the miseries under which they groaned, drove them to the necessity of suing for peace almost upon any terms whatsoever.

As the duke of Marlborough had been detained in the Low-Countries, on account of some proposals made for peace on the part of the French, so he did not arrive in England till the twenty-fifth of February, 1709; when he was attended by several of the nobility, among whom was the earl of Stair, whose acquaintance was now universal, and enabled him to share very much in all the entertainments of the court.

His grace was now complimented by the House of Lords; but this mighty Hosanna was turned quickly into Crucify; which might be owing to the death of prince George of Denmark, who died upon the twenty-eighth of October, to the excessive grief of the queen, to whom he was the most loving husband, besides a guardian and father to the nation in general.

Her majesty was so much grieved for the loss of her beloved consort, that she could not go

go to the house on the sixteenth of November, when the parliament met ; but appointed commissioners to open the same in her name.

The first comfort that ever she had, was, when she saw the duke come in, attended by the earl of Stair ; and, on looking upon him, she recollected a saying of her royal husband in his favour, and burst forth into tears ; and indeed it was no wonder, for he directed and guided her so well in the management of her affairs, that much of the success of the campaign was owing to him.

In April, the Allies took the castle of Pionguville and Mortaigne, and made the enemy fly before them ; after which they invested Doway on the twenty-second, and opened trenches before it upon the twenty-fourth, carrying on the siege with great vigour till the twenty-ninth, when the garrison made a sally, but were driven back by general M^cKartney to the very counterscarp of the place. On the twelfth of May they sallied out again, but were driven back, by colonel Preston, in the greatest disorder ; and, on the seventeenth, a little horn-work was taken in the front of their approaches, with very small loss.

Next day another sally was attempted ; but, on the approach of the earl of Stair, who had come from Warsaw on purpose to confer with the duke of Marlborough concerning the measures to be taken with the Swedes, they retired with the utmost precipitation.

He continued with his grace till the twenty-sixth, acting as a volunteer in most of the attacks ; when he was, by a special commission from the queen, on account of his merit, made a knight of the noble order of the thistle.

His lordship was introduced into the room appointed for the ceremony by the marquis of Harwich ; and, being on his knees, supported by the earls of Orrery and Orkney, he received the ensigns of the order from the duke of Marlborough, who put the ribbon and medal about his neck ; tendered the oath and statutes to him in presence of many general officers, to whom he afterwards gave a grand entertainment, and appeared more than usually satisfied with what he had done.

As the business would not permit the earl to continue any longer at the siege, he again set out for Warsaw, with full power to act as he should see cause ; and, at the same time, with positive injunctions to inform the king of Poland how much the duke of Marlborough had his interest at heart.

As it is not our business to enter minutely into an account of what happened in Poland during the embassy of this noble lord, we shall only observe, that king Augustus entered closely into an alliance with the kings of Denmark and Prussia, against the king of Sweden ; and, that these, with the czar, harassed his troops, and attacked them on every quarter, though sometimes they were made to smart for their procedure ; witness the battles of Hel-
finburgh,

inburgh, in 1711, and Gadebush, in 1713, where the famous marshal Saxe learned his first rudiments of war. It is true, indeed, these brave troops, who had gained so much glory in these actions with general Steinbock, were made prisoners afterwards; and the unfortunate king of Sweden, in the year 1714, returned to his dominions, then desolate and almost ready to receive the conqueror: but, to return to the earl of Stair,

He was all this time at Warsaw in the closest friendship and correspondence with his Polish majesty, who sometimes did him the honour to dine at his house; and one day the king, who had a surprising dexterity added to an incredible strength of body, being at dinner, took one of the silver plates in his hand and folded it up like a piece of tin; but correcting his mistake, he begged of the British ambassador to be excused; "For," said he, "I was thinking upon something." His excellency accepted his apology, and returned the compliment with all the sweetness and grace that could be shewn from such an ambassador to so great a king.

One other day, his Polish majesty and he being pretty familiar, the former took up a sword in his hand, with which he made some flourishes, and caused the blade to spring from the handle; and told the earl, that he never saw a sword but he could use in that manner.

Thus he continued for four years, in which time he contracted an acquaintance with the

most part of the foreign ambassadors, and framed to himself a clear idea of the interests of the several courts in the north. He is thought, by some, to have been the first who, by means of the duke of Marlborough, projected the renunciation of Bremen and Verden, on the part of the king of Denmark, in favour of king George I. and, as this was an additional jewel to his majesty's German dominions, so it was afterwards the very means by which Sweden was saved, as one million of crowns were granted by king George I. to that kingdom, and a powerful fleet sent up the Baltic to stop the incursions of the Russians, and to bring about a peace, which was afterwards actually done.

He was called home in the year 1713, when he was stripped of all his employments; and, having lived very splendidly at Warsaw, he contracted some debts which, at that time, lay heavy upon him. His plate and equipage were ready to be arrested; and perhaps would have been exposed to sale, if one Mr. Lawson, who was a lieutenant in the Cameronian regiment, had not generously granted him a loan of one thousand eight hundred pounds; and it is hard to say, whether Mr. Lawson's goodness or the earl of Stair's gratitude, ever after, was most to be admired.

He now returned from court to his own estate; thus following the fate of his patron the duke of Marlborough, who had been

served

served in the same manner about two years before.

Queen Anne dying on the first of August, in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign, the elector of Hanover, king George I. was crowned, with all possible magnificence and splendor, surrounded by his particular favourites, whose disgraces formerly now made them appear with a brighter lustre. Among the number of those received into his favour was the earl of Stair, who, upon the twenty eighth of October, was appointed one of the lords of his bedchamber; next day was sworn one of his privy-council; and, in November, was made commander in chief of all his forces in Scotland: and, indeed, he added an additional lustre to these places which he filled.

The nation, in general, were well pleased with the arrival of king George; and, generally, the favourites of the duke of Marlborough were chosen to represent the counties and boroughs in the parliament that was summoned to meet on the seventeenth of March, 1715: and, in Scotland, the opposers of the former ministry prevailed; and the earl of Stair, tho' absent, was, upon the third of this month, unanimously chosen as a representative in the first Septennial parliament.

Upon the king's accession to the throne, ambassadors were sent to several powers of Europe; and, as the French court was both the most splendid, and her intrigues the most dan-

gerous, a person of spirit, of a sound mind in a sound body; one of an enterprising genius, of a polite taste and deep penetration, was to be dispatched to her. The person thought of by the duke of Marlborough, and by the king himself, was the lord Stair; who, on his being introduced to his royal master, was complimented on his prudent management in Poland and desired to behave as he should see occasion.

He set out for Paris in January, 1715, and, in a few days after, entered that capital, in so splendid a manner, that the other ambassadors admired him, while old Lewis himself looked upon it as a banter upon him in his capital; and, to speak conscientiously, as every historian ought to do, according to his light, how could he do otherwise? for, lo! an ambassador from a prince, whom, some few months ago, he had actually desired should be degraded from the honour of an elector in the empire, raised to a throne, little inferior at any time, but now much more splendid than his own: lo! this ambassador making a more brilliant appearance than any of the same station ever did before; and yet nothing when compared to his public entry in the year 1719, when he complimented his late majesty on his mounting the throne, the manner of which we shall afterwards set down for the amusement of our readers.

He was not many days here before an opportunity offered of distinguishing his rare abilities,

lities, and confirming his master in the good opinion formed of him, and increasing the fears of the French king, who had heard of his character, and was even chagrined at his conduct for the short time he had resided at his court.

By the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht it was expressly stipulated, That the harbour of Dunkirk should be filled up; and, that the dykes, which form the canal and moles, should be destroyed.

There was indeed a pretended execution of this article, but nothing like fulfilling of the treaty, as easily occurred to any person that viewed it; yea, further than this, the grand monarch had ordered a haven and canal to be made at Mardyke, which were much more capacious than those of Dunkirk itself. Mr. Prior, the former ambassador, had complained of it, upon the twelfth of October before, and insisted that the treaty should be fulfilled. An answer, full of the most evasive arguments, was drawn up; but the same was far from being satisfactory, and, as the matter still continued open, his excellency, the earl of Stair, on the fifth of February, laid a clear representation of the matter before the French ministry; in which he demonstrated, that the works, according to the treaty, ought to be destroyed by mens hands, and not left to the washings of time, or encroachments of the sea, which every thing was subject to. He set forth, that it was inconsistent, in the nature of things,

to think that the haven was demolished, while another was built in its neighbourhood which might prove more detrimental to the commerce of the British subjects than Dunkirk itself. He pointed out a way how the water might be drained, without overflowing the country, as they pretended; and that with little trouble or expence; and then demanded such an answer as might be satisfactory to his master and his subjects, and prevent the bad effects which might be the result of a contrary conduct.

To this it was answered, That all imaginable forwardness had been shewn, on the part of the most Christian king, exactly to fulfil the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht, till hindered by the English commissaries themselves; that the canal, which he was obliged to open, for preventing the submersion of a vast extent of country, and saving the lives of its inhabitants, ought to give no umbrage to Great Britain, since his inclination was not to keep fleets there for disturbing the navigation and commerce of his neighbours; and, that he desired nothing more than that France and Great Britain should unite in the strictest bands of correspondence and friendship.

Thus did the French answer the plainest reasoning, and elude the force of the most notorious facts; and even gave out, that they intended to live in harmony with the king of Great-Britain, while, in the mean time, they were meditating an invasion in favour of the pretender to his crown.

The old French king easily foresaw, how much the system of affairs in England would be altered by the removal of a sweet tempered princess, who was ready, by delusive arguments; to give into the most destructive schemes; with real grief did he at the same time observe, that the prince upon earth whom he most feared, had mounted the throne of that kingdom, which he ever inclined to have dependent upon him as his own; and, to create him as much trouble as possible, did he encourage the old chevalier, who published a declaration, superscribed James R. dated August 29, 1714, in French, Latin, and English, setting out his claim to the crown of these realms.

The paper was handed about, and, on the thirteenth of November, some of them being sent to the dukes of Argyle and Marlborough, who delivered them to the king, a proclamation was emitted, for suppressing tumults and insurrections, and for preventing conspiracies, which, at that time began to be feared; and a premium of one hundred thousand pounds was set upon the head of the pretender, if he should land, or attempt to land, in any of the king's dominions.

This was the state of affairs in Britain, till the meeting of the parliament, on the seventeenth of March, 1715; when his majesty, being seated on his throne, caused the lord-chancellor to read his first speech; in which, after thanking them for their zeal in defence

of the protestant succession, he observed, That the unparalleled success of the late war had not been attended with a suitable conclusion: the pretender was still in Lorrain, and boasted of assistance to repair his former misfortunes. He told them, That a great part of their trade was impracticable; and their public debts, which were great, had surprisingly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms: and, that he had paid off a great number of ships for the ease of his people.

He concluded with recommending harmony among themselves; and declared, That he should judge those his best friends, who should assist him in promoting the happiness of his people.

Both houses of parliament made suitable returns of gratitude to this most excellent speech of the king; complied with all his desires: gave him the strongest assurances of their loyalty; and expressed their amazement, that the pretender to his crown should be permitted to reside so near his dominions.

This intelligence about the designs of the pretender was owing to the earl of Stair, who spared no pains or cost to find out his plots and contrivances. He kept the most splendid house in Paris, next to that of the king; and having with him his countess and her daughter, both ladies of the greatest honour and politeness, he was visited by the principal lords and ladies, whom he would entertain with all possible elegance; and, after keeping them, perhaps till

ten o'clock at night, he would pretend business, and leave the company to the care of his lady, withdraw to his room, undress himself, and repair to the coffee-houses incognito; and, by a dextrous method of conversation, find out the secrets of the day.

It was in one of these excursions that he was informed of the pretender's being at court; for one Mr. Mackdonald, of Clanranald's family, who knew very well the design, judging, that the gentleman with whom he conversed, viz. the earl of Stair, was as great a Jacobite as himself, declared the whole that he knew of the matter; and, at the same time informed him of the dress which he wore, and the time he generally appeared.

Next day the earl went to the palace, and saw the chevalier in the same dress that Mackdonald had described him. He therefore went immediately to pay a visit to the duke of Lorraine's ambassador, and conversed pretty seriously with him: but that nobleman was either unacquainted with his design, or else, from a political turn, he spoke so ambiguously that nothing could be learned from him.

After this, he went to pay a visit to the lady of the duke de Villars, hoping, by her means, to get information of him. He was received by that noblewoman entirely *à la mode de Paris*; and, being invited to take a hand at backgammond with her and some other ladies, he, designedly, allowed them to gain; by which means their spirits became highly ele-

vated, and they talked with but little reserve.

The subject of the conversation then turned upon the enquiry into the conduct of the late British ministry; and, at last, they talked of the old chevalier. The dutchess of Villars had but a mean opinion of him, and spoke of him rather in a geering manner, than as one who sympathized with his case; and at last said, That she believed, ere long, another trial would be made in favour of the poor fugitive.

This was but the beginning of that admirable policy which afterwards he discovered for the support of his king and preservation of his country. By his charming address, and manly behaviour, he procured the esteem of his court; all who saw him loved him, though no way concerned in him: the whole nobles admired him without envy, and his enemies dreaded him without hatred of his person. He became acquainted with the whole members of the ministry; by whom he was regalled for the brightness of his genius, his majestic mein, his lovely and amiable countenance, and, what was more than all, for his instructive discourses, and his surprising judgment, when talking of the art of war. He was too quick sighted not to observe a general devastation in France, where famine, hunger, and discontent were to be read in the faces of all the populace.

The miserable state of the body of France was not, however, an observation only of the earl of Stair's, but also of all the great men of their nation, whom he frequently invited to his house, and seldom or never dismissed them without some present or other. He complimented several of them with a set of fine horses of the Galloway breed ; presented the princess of the blood, and the great men of the court, with two of these at a time ; and would merrily say, That he thought no man should pretend, in a foreign country, to make presents of any thing but what was the product of his own.

By this dextrous management he got notice of all the intrigues at court ; and scarce was there any thing, relating to Britain, transacted in the cabinet of Versailles, but it was known at the court of Britain as soon as a courier could arrive with the news. But, though, by this means, he had the most perfect intelligence, yet he did not think the matter entirely safe, till he had one of the lords of the council in his actual pay. The method he took with him was this :

He agreed with him for a sum, which was to be augmented in proportion to the importance of the intelligence which he gave ; and at the same time it was settled, that every night a packet, with a certain seal, should be sent to his house, or to the coffee-house which he appointed.

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The scheme took extremely well ; for, as his lordship paid in the most liberal manner, not one thing happened in the cabinet, but was drawn forth and presented before him. All the plans for bringing in the chevalier were divulged from time to time ; and trusty messengers, among whom was the brave captain Gardner, were dispatched with them : so that the French king was astonished to hear, that king George, on the twentieth of July, had informed his parliament, that a design was carrying on to invade his dominions in favour of the pretender to his crown. He was at a loss how to behave ; but, being informed of the many expresses dispatched by the earl of Stair, he sent for him, and told him pretty roundly, That he was well assured of frequent dispatches he sent to his court ; and, at the same time, disguised the matter so far as to say,

“ This can be from no other motive, but to apprise your king of my bad state of health, which is far from being what you may apprehend ; for, if you come to my palace to-morrow, you shall see me eat a fowl as heartily as ever I did in my life-time.”

Next day his lordship came to court, and saw the old king at dinner for the last time that ever he publicly appeared. The sickly monarch was very languid, and bore in his visage the evident marks of an approaching dissolution ;

tion ; and, for some time, seeming to disgust the nicest dainties, till, casting his eyes upon the earl of Stair, who, to use the words of the eminent doctor Dodderidge,

“ Was very disagreeable to that crafty and tyrannical prince, he affected to appear in a much better state of health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened from some deep riverie, he immediately put himself up into an erect posture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and eat much more heartily than was by any means adviseable ; repeating it two or three times to a nobleman, I think the duke of Bourbon, then in waiting, ‘ Methinks I eat very well for a man that is to die so soon.’ ”

“ But this inroad upon that regularity of living, which he had for some time observed, agreed so ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in less than a fortnight after.”

This event happened on the first of September, 1715; when he left such advice to his great grandson, that, had it been followed, would have proved his own happiness, as well as that of the nations around him; which was, not to imitate him in three things : viz. The passion he had entertained, for the enlargement and aggrandizing of his dominions; in his attachment to pleasure ; and in excessive and useless expences, to the desolation of his subjects :

jects : and with these, or such like, expressions, did he close a life that had been spent in the pursuits of luxury, of ambition, and of triumph.

The death of old Lewis, whom the French historians compare to Augustus Cæsar, and are at a loss what eulogiums to give him, would have dashed the Pretender's scheme to pieces, if it had not been cherished at home : for, as an enquiry was carrying on against the former ministry, upon whom treasons and misdemeanors were charged, their friends thought proper to divert the trial, by carving out work from another quarter. Among those who sided with the late ministry was John earl of Mar, a nobleman bred up in all the principles of the Revolution, to which he firmly adhered, except in the instance of excursion I am soon to relate. He was Secretary of State at the time of the Union, was one of the commissioners for concluding of it, and had continued in parliament, as a representative, till this very time ; nay, so strenuously did he promote, and afterwards support it, that, when speaking of any thing which he insisted could not be altered, his usual phrase was, " You may as well dissolve the Union." This man was, however, very cunning and politic ; and so much did he delight in acting the part of a statesman, that his itch after this had the preference to all his desires. He had been intimate with the earl of Oxford (who was then in prison) and was supposed to have been

been privy to all his secrets, which, if once found out, must prove fatal to himself; therefore, to deliver his friend from his captivity, did he think of raising a rebellion. Oxford, who was very well attached to the Hanoverian succession (as, indeed, was the earl of Mar, who was much disgusted for his disappointment at the election of the Scottish representatives in parliament, in March before) liberally furnished him with money for stirring up the confusion. These two great politicians easily foresaw that the thing would not do; all they wanted by it was, to obtain their own safety, to screen themselves from a parliamentary enquiry, and, by suppressing the insurrection, to secure the constitution the more. Two years after Oxford was arraigned before his peers; but they and the commons differing about the method of procedure, he was dismissed from their bar.

The earl of Mar was at no loss to find out engines, whom he could very easily move by the springs of his political views; and, lest he should be suspected, because, in this, he was acting contrary to all his former principles, nay, and to his solemn protestations of loyalty to king George; he brought over some young unexperienced noblemen, such as the Earls Marischal and Strathmore, the marquis of Tullibardin and Huntley; and, meeting them privately at Braemar, he talked of the scheme, and, by his insinuations, soon made an impression upon their minds, which

were

were ready to receive the first that was offered.

Having got these noblemen to keep him in countenance, he was assured of being joined by a considerable army, and that was, by the M'Donalds of Slate, of Clanranald, Glengary, Keppoch, and Glenco, by the Camerons, the M'Leans, M'Grigors, M'Kinnons, M'Phersons, M'Intoshes, and many others; and though he looked with as much disdain on these tumultuous people (who have proved rebels to most of the Scots kings) as any man in Britain, yet he made use of them to answer his own, and his patron's designs. These people, who have little more to do with the British constitution than so many Moscovites or Tartars, immediately arose, to dethrone a king whom they had addressed but a few months before, with the most solemn protestations of loyalty, and had assured of their attachment to his interest; and, gathering strength as they advanced, there was soon mustered up an army of ten thousand men, Scots and English included, to favour the cause of the Chevalier, whose standard was set up, September 6th, at Braemar, his declarations published, and he, in the mean time, proclaimed.

The news of this insurrection was most surprising at court: but, as a man does not, upon seeing an house on fire, set himself to enquire into the cause of the flame, but rather to extinguish it; so the government immediately

ately dispatched the duke of Argyle, then lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Scotland, to suppress the rebellion. He quickly recruited the regiments which had been diminished by the king for the ease of his people, and had got together an army of three thousand three hundred and fifty regular forces, besides the Glasgow and other militia, by the 13th of November, when he attacked the rebels on Sheriff-muir, to prevent their crossing the Forth. The Highlanders came, with their usual fury, upon the left wing, which was not well formed, and the horses, which were young, falling a capering on the first fire, turned and trod down their own foot, who fled off in the greatest confusion, and were pursued, with a terrible slaughter, even to Dumblain: but, while this was doing upon the left, the right of the king's troops broke the left of the enemy, who hurried along with them upwards of six thousand, and pursued them to the water of Allan, making a dreadful havock, as they several times endeavoured to rally, and return to the charge. The scene here was very confused, for, while some were striving to form, others betook themselves to inclosures, and cried out they were forced; which his grace hearing, he commanded Evans's dragoons to stop, just when they had surrounded them, and were ready to cut them in pieces, ordering a trumpet to sound, informing them, that they were allowed to return home, on condition they should lay down their

their arms; which was immediately complied with. On his grace's return, he was astonished to see a number of highlanders drawn up, upon a rising ground, betwixt him and Damblain; nor, indeed, were the others less astonished, to see the royalists return from the chace: both held a council of war, where the question was, Attack the enemy, or not? The duke of Argyle was for the former; but sir Robert Hay told him, that his soldiers and horses were fatigued, and his ammunition spent; whereas the rebels were recruited with the arms of the wing that had been broke: that the business of the Royalists was, to get betwixt them and Stirling, that key into the west and north. This salutary advice being approved, the duke directed his march, with his victorious troops, below the field of battle, while the enemy were spectators of it. Here was in them the most unaccountable insatiation, or else the earl of Mar acted the most political part. The clans in general, with the earl marshal's horse, and several of the boldest of the left wing that had been broke, declared such eagerness to attack, that scarcely authority itself could restrain them; for they were fired with revenge, as Clanranald, whom they admired, with the earl of Strathmore, was lying dead before them. Glengary said to Mar, By G—d you never will have such an opportunity of them again: to which his lordship answered, "You are mistaken; consider that night is coming on; the flower of the king's

king's troops are only here, and I do not chuse too much to expose them." By these soothing expressions they were hindered from entering upon another action; in case of which, I am far from pretending to determine who would have been the conqueror. At night they marched back to their camp, and, next day, the Royalists appeared on the field of battle, ready to engage; but the clans, now disheartened, had no stomach to advance towards them. Such was the action at Sherriff-muir, in which the Royalists lost above five hundred men, among whom, was the brave earl of Forfar; whom the rebels taking for the duke of Argyll, hacked almost to pieces. The rebels lost full as many, and the remainder were quite disheartened at their disappointment.

Among the regiments who distinguished themselves in the cause of their country, was the earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons; for, at the head of that corps, animated by the spirit of their colonel, and Evans's dragoons, did his grace first break through the left of the rebel army, and snatched out of their hands an advantage, which, for some time, they judged themselves possessed of. From this time there was no further motion, till Candlemas, when his grace set out for Perth, to beat up the quarters of the Pretender; who had landed at Peterhead, on the 25th of December, with the marquis of Tinmouth, and a few officers: he, with the remainder of the shattered troops that appeared for him, fled before

before the king's forces, leaving his men at Montrose, without any ceremony, embarked in a small sloop for France, where he safely arrived. Nor went his affairs in England better than in Scotland ; for the noblemen of the Roman catholic religion, who were joined by brigadier M'Intosh, and the earls of Carnwath, Wintoun, and Nithisdale, were all made prisoners upon the very day of the action at Dumblain, upon none other terms but, that they should not be cut in pieces till the king's pleasure was known.

The regiment of the earl of Stair was not more active in the field of Dumblain, for breaking the rebel battalions, than his lordship was in France, for defeating any attempts that might be made to assist them; and the distinct accounts, which are contained in the following Memorials, will easily convince any person, both of his lordship's assiduity and zeal for the interest of his country, and of his using the methods we formerly mentioned for procuring intelligence.

Lord Stair's Memorial to the Regent.

THE underwritten earl of Stair, minister of Great-Britain to his most Christian majesty, finds himself obliged to represent to his royal highness, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, That, notwithstanding his royal highness has frequently assured the said earl, that
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he would faithfully and punctually observe the articles of peace made between Great-Britain and France at the treaty of Utrecht ; that he would not permit either arms, ammunition, officers, or soldiers, to be transported out of France for the service of the pretender : and, although, in conformity to these intentions, his royal highness had even sent express orders to all the ports and havens of the kingdom, it is certain, nevertheless, that the several particulars before enumerated, are every day transported from the harbours of France, without the least obstruction whatsoever from those who command in the said ports on the part of his most Christian majesty.

The late duke of Ormond, and the pretender, have been frequently on board certain vessels at St. Malo, which were known to be loaded with ammunition and arms for the pretender's service ; and this with so little reserve or circumspection, that they were publicly attended and followed by a troop of Nugent's horse, commanded by their proper officers, all mounted in their regimental cloaths and accoutrements; and this without the least check from his most Christian majesty's officers commanding at St. Malo.

The pretender, not thinking it proper to venture himself to sea at this juncture, took the road towards Normandy, in order to embark at Dunkirk ; and the late duke of Ormond, in the same manner, declining to land in England, came back to Morlaix.

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When the pretender was gone to Scotland, attended by the above-mentioned troopers of Nugent's regiment, his royal highness was pleased to promise the underwritten minister, that he would treat them as deserters, if ever they returned to France ; and the marechal d'Uxelles at the same time assured the said earl, that he would hang them all, without distinction.

These soldiers are now returned, and have joined their regiment. Monsieur Besach, and his company, remain, to this very hour, at Morlaix, as also the arms and ammunition that he had with him for his intended expedition ; which being removed out of one ship into another, in the harbour of Morlaix, the commanding officer there was so far from confiscating the said arms and ammunition, that he even refused to search the vessel, tho' he was desired so to do by captain Campbell, commander of an English ship, which yet remains in that port.

Within five weeks past, several vessels have sailed from Dieppe and Havre de Grace, with arms and ammunition, officers and money, for the pretender's service ; all which are actually arrived in Scotland : and, to be more particular, there sailed a vessel from Havre de Grace, on the seventeenth of this month, in the face of an officer belonging to the king of Great-Britain ; who having represented to the marquis of Rouvray, that there lay, at that time, both in Havre de Grace and at Harfleur,

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at least twenty officers, ready to follow the pretender into Scotland, on board the said vessel, and begged him to prevent their embarking: the marquis replied, That what he said might be very true; but, that he could not prevent their going on board, having no orders from court for that purpose.

The said earl of Stair has also frequently represented, both to his royal highness the regent, and the mareschal d' Huxelles, that several generals, colonels, and other officers, then actually engaged in the service of France, were determined to go and join the rebels in Scotland. The said earl went so far as even to give the mareschal d' Huxelles a list of the said generals and other officers, who, agreeable to the said earl's representation, are now actually at Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, and other places in that neighbourhood, ready to transport themselves with the first opportunity into Scotland, from whence they have been hitherto detained by nothing but the excessive cold of the season and contrary winds; the commanding officers in the said places openly avowing, that they have received no orders to prevent their embarkation.

The earl of Stair finds it his duty to represent these facts to the duke regent, to the end that his royal highness may himself determine, whether his orders have been executed with punctuality; and, whether it may be thought in Great-Britain, that the treaty of Utrecht

has been faithfully complied with on the part of France.

The aforesaid earl of Stair finds himself obliged to acquaint his royal highness, That the late duke of Ormond, and several others, who have conspired equally against their king and country, did, within a few days, begin their journey towards Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and, that they have got together, upon the coast of Gascony, a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and ships, with which the court of St. Germain's boasts its intention to make a descent in Ireland; which, as the same court flatters itself, will be supported, not only with the money, but even with the troops, of France.

The earl of Stair, who has always laboured with the utmost zeal, to establish a good and perfect friendship between the king his master and his royal highness the duke-regent, cannot help being much concerned to find himself reduced to make remonstrances upon points of so ticklish a nature, so capable of destroying the harmony that at present subsists between two nations, and of producing such discontents as may be attended with the most grievous consequences, if not immediately prevented by necessary orders.

It was not possible to elude the force of this representation; and, accordingly, his royal highness saw, that, to remove all suspicions,
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and preserve the friendship of Great-Britain, he must be obliged to speak plain; agreeable to which, his answer was, That he would forbid the exportation of any arms or ammunition out of the kingdom; and, that he should send such orders to all the ports of France as his Britannic majesty desired, together with instructions for the captains of such vessels as were bound for any part of Scotland.

Another Memorial by lord Stair to the Regent.

THE earl of Stair, minister of the king of Great-Britain to his most Christian majesty, has received express orders from the king his master, to acquaint his royal highness the duke of Orleans, regent of France, with the flight of the pretender, and the dispersion of the rebels in Scotland. His majesty is persuaded this news will be very acceptable to the duke regent, as well on account of the proximity of their blood, as in regard to the strict friendship which his majesty has so carefully cultivated with his highness.

The treaty of Utrecht is so recent, that the king was persuaded his royal highness would have taken the necessary measures to have prevented the pretender's setting his foot in France; but, since the said pretender has found means to return thither, his majesty as-

fures himself, that, so soon as his royal highness shall be made acquainted with it, he will take the necessary measures to oblige him to quit the kingdom.

The king of Great Britain commands the earl of Stair to insist, in the strongest manner, with his royal highness, That those persons who stand condemned by the laws of England, and are declared rebels and traitors to their king and country, may not be permitted to remain in France; and, that the chief abettors and authors of the late rebellion may be immediately obliged to leave the kingdom; and, that his royal highness will declare his resolution, not to permit the said rebels ever to return into France; or, that other persons, who may hereafter be condemned and declared rebels, shall at any time be received, or find protection in that kingdom.

His royal highness is too reasonable and too wise, not to see the justice and propriety of this demand. Great-Britain can never repose herself in safety and peace, whilst she sees those persons received and entertained in her neighbourhood, who have endeavoured, with open force, to bring on the ruin and total subversion of their country. Nor can France be perfectly assured, that she shall not once again see herself exposed to bear all the blame and resentment due to undertakings of so mischievous a nature.

The king and people of Great-Britain think themselves secure on the side of France, by
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virtue of the solemn treaty of Utrecht, by which the pretender is excluded from the dominions of his most Christian majesty ; and by which France stands obliged to give him no assistance, either in ships, arms, or ammunition ; in money, soldiers, or officers ; no, nor either council or advice, either directly or indirectly. Yet the above-mentioned rebels arrive ; they ask refuge and protection in France ! and are no sooner there, than, by the commodiousness of their situation, and conveniency of the post, they plot and contrive the blackest and most detestable treason against their country ; which, depending on the faith of the treaty of Utrecht, was unarmed and defenceless. In defiance of this treaty, they find means to bring the pretender into France, and, by their intrigues, they furnish him with ships, arms, and ammunition ; officers, soldiers, and money ; with which assistance the pretender has actually invaded Great-Britain, and brought infinite damages to the nation.

His royal highness may imagine, that Great-Britain could not long endure the uneasiness that must be derived from the neighbourhood of those rebels, ready to bring fire and sword into the heart of the kingdom, and to renew all the horrors that accompany rebellion.

In this situation Great-Britain would find herself obliged to be perpetually upon her guard ; and would be subject to continual disturbances and apprehensions : a condition more vexatious than even open war, to a na-

tion equally anxious for the preservation of its laws and liberties, as desirous to live in peace with its neighbours.

His royal highness may learn, from the unanimous address of both houses of parliament to the king, what sense the nation entertains of this uncertain and violent situation. The king has the happiness of his subjects too much at heart, not to enter warmly both into their opinions and interest; and he flatters himself, that, upon this occasion, his royal highness will not refuse him the just proof he has desired of his friendship, and of his disposition to entertain a good understanding between the two nations.

For the same reasons, the king of Great-Britain hopes his royal highness the regent, will concur with his majesty to solicit the duke of Loraine, in the most effectual manner, that the pretender may not be permitted to return into his dominions.

The earl of Stair has also received orders to remind his royal highness of the declaration he has already made, that such officers in the service of France, as followed the pretender into Scotland, shall be cashiered. And the king is persuaded, that his royal highness will not permit such general officers, colonels, and others, who may have followed and assisted the pretender in the late rebellion, ever to be employed afresh in the service of his most Christian majesty: and, if any of the said officers should hereafter return, or be already returned,
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into France, that his royal highness will cause them to be punished, so that their conduct may appear to have been as highly displeasing to his royal highness and the government, as it is contrary to the treaty of Utrecht.

To prevent all mistakes in a business of so important and delicate a nature, the earl of Stair has orders to demand an answer in writing to this Memorial, which he passionately wishes to be such as may contribute to re-establish a good intelligence between the two nations.

So resolute a declaration reduced his royal highness to the necessity of declaring himself. There was no medium; he must either satisfy Great-Britain, by refusing the pretender a retreat in France, or absolutely break with a prince whose friendship might be of service to him, for the sake of a guest who was both unuseful to him and his friends, as well as troublesome to those who protected him. In a word, fortune having already abjured the pretender, it was no hard matter for the regent to do so too; and, agreeable to this, by the advice of the abbot du Bois, he made the earl of Stair the following answer, after having acquainted the pretender with his resolution, who immediately took the road to Avignon.

HIS royal highness, taking part in the glory and victory of the king of Great-Britain, received the news of the success of his

arms in Scotland with so much the greater pleasure, as it is an event which, at the same time that it secures the tranquillity of his Britannic majesty's dominions, will also put an end to those false reports that have been artfully propagated by such as are enemies to the public peace, in order to impair that friendship and confidence which the king is resolved to entertain with his majesty of Great-Britain; a point that has always engaged the utmost attention of his royal highness, who, being desirous to comply exactly with the treaty of Utrecht, has always made use of the authority with which he is intrusted, to oblige the Chevalier de St. George to leave his kingdom; and his royal highness will continue to employ the same authority to prevent his return at any time hereafter, or under any pretext whatsoever.

With respect to such fugitives as may have fled from England into his majesty's dominions, or that may fly thither hereafter, though nothing be better understood than the laws of sanctuary and protection in all foreign states, his royal highness being desirous to shew his majesty of Great-Britain, how very inconsistent it is with the king's intentions, to suffer an abuse of that protection, by permitting persons to enjoy it who should entertain any correspondence capable of disturbing the tranquillity of Great-Britain, is willing to agree in concert with his Britannic majesty, upon all proper methods for preventing such abuses, and removing

removing every subject of discontent and jealousy.

It is with the same design of shewing how far his majesty is indisposed to tolerate so great a rashness, that an edict is issued against such officers as presumed to go out of the kingdom without permission.

If it be true, agreeable to what is advanced by the earl of Stair, that England, reposing itself upon the faith of treaties, was disarmed and defenceless ; it is not less so, that no person whatsoever can say with truth, that his most Christian majesty has, in any degree, served himself of that conjuncture to the prejudice of Great-Britain ; or, that he has given any succour to the Chevalier de St. George. It is known, on the contrary, that his royal highness prevented and suppressed several military undertakings in favour of the said Chevalier, so soon as he was made acquainted with them ; and nothing can better demonstrate, that the Chevalier de St. George was not assisted by France, than his wretched condition when in Scotland, entirely destitute of every thing that was necessary to such an undertaking.

His majesty sees, with pleasure, the marks of a perfect harmony between the king of Great-Britain and his parliament, as the most certain foundation both of that prince's glory and the happiness of his subjects. His royal highness feels the same satisfaction ; and, desiring very truly, to preserve his Britannic ma-

jeſty's friendship, will omit nothing that may demonſtrate how ſenſible he is of the proofs he has received of it.

His royal highneſs will do nothing, either directly or indirectly, that may influence the duke of Lorraine to reſuſe any demands which the king of Great-Britain may make, with relation to the Chevalier de St. George's reſiding in his dominions; but will be ſincerely glad to ſee his majeſty ſatisfied in this particular; perſuading himſelf, on the other hand, that the king of England will not deſire him to proffer ſuch demands to a prince over whom his moſt Chriſtian majeſty has no authority, as the regent would be at a loſs to alledge proper grounds for ſo doing; and which, on the other hand, would add no weight to the powerful inſtances of his Britannic majeſty.

Theſe answers are too exact and clear, not to ſhew the king's real diſpoſitions; and, it is to be hoped they will alſo diſplay the deſire his royal highneſs has ever entertained to preſerve his Britannic majeſty's friendship, and to contribute all that can depend upon his particular care, and the authority he exerciſes, to eſtabliſh and preſerve a ſtrict union and perfect intelligence between his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the king of Great Britain.

This language was very agreeable to the court of England; and, to ſpeak truth, the expulſion of the pretender out of the dominions

nions of France, as well as an edict published about the same time, prohibiting the French subjects to trade in the South-Sea, were two points of such importance to Great-Britain that they might justly serve for a foundation to that friendship and confidence which at that time sprung up between the two nations. To balance the exclusion of the French from the South-Sea, the regent published a declaration permitting them to trade to Africa.

From these Memorials, and the whole of his other conduct, the duke of Orleans, who, by a dexterous management, had got himself declared regent during the king's minority, conceived the greatest opinion of him. The whole court admired him without envy, they dreaded him without hatred, and endeavoured to sooth him with the most artful policy; but there was nothing could make him, in the least, to depart from the interest of his country, or do any thing that had a tendency to sully the honour of the station in which he was placed: and here it may not be improper to give an instance of it, that so the character of the earl of Stair may be illustrated from an example.

One day the regent, attended with the most splendid retinue, went in his coach to pay him a visit; which his excellency being informed of, prepared for his reception. The coach halted at the gate; and, when the earl of Stair came out of his apartment, the regent rose up, partly alighted from his coach, set one foot on

the ground, and kept the other fixed on the step. His excellency, in the mean time, was advancing out of his gate; but, observing the posture the regent was in, he stopped short; then turned about, and walked three or four times backward and forward, and at last asked one of the attendants, Whether his royal highness was come to visit him as his Britannic majesty's ambassador, or as earl of Stair? To which receiving no answer, he replied,

“If he comes to see lord Stair, I shall reckon it my greatest honour to receive any one officer of the crown, much more the duke-regent, at the door of his coach; but, if he comes to visit the ambassador of my august and royal master, I think I should be unworthy the trust reposed in me, if I went further than I have done.”

This being told the regent, he re-entered his coach, and afterwards caused signification to be made to his excellency, that he was not desirous of seeing him at court; and, for some months, he actually withdrew, till, hearing of the regent's fitting out a strong squadron at Toulon, which the court of Britain could not look on with indifference, he went to court; but in such a manner as argued a consummate policy, as well as an ardent zeal for the welfare of his country.

He set out in a private chaise, and, being met by chancellor d' Huxelles, who was very pomp-

JOHN DALRYMPLE.

pompously attended, and paid his compliments to his excellency in the most elegant manner, and invited him to take a seat in his coach. His lordship thanked him for his civility, but told him, That he wanted not coaches, but was at present diverting himself as the earl of Stair. He then parted from him; and came to the court; but the guards observing him, declared he had no authority to be there; "Oh!" says he, though the British ambassador be debarred access, yet the lord Stair is not."

On this he was allowed to come in; and, having passed the first guard, he hastened thro' the others, and then immediately entered the chamber of presence, where the king and regent were standing amidst a vast number of nobility, gentry, foreign ambassadors and general officers.

No sooner did his highness observe the earl of Stair than he withdrew to an inner chamber, whither he was followed by his lordship, the company standing aside to let him pass; and, as he entered the room, he told him, That, if at present he denied him audience, perhaps, in time, he might be glad to have one in his turn. On this the regent and he conversed two hours; during which time he informed him of his intrigues with the czar, with the king of Sweden, and with cardinal Alberoni, for bringing in the pretender. His royal highness observing, that nothing, though ever so secretly transacted, could be
kept

kept up from so prying an ambassador, and, that one half of the French nation were, thro' poverty, become spies upon the other, made a merit of discovering the whole to his Britannic majesty.

'Tho' Philip V. grandson of Spain, was, by the treaty of Utrecht, allowed to reign peaceably upon the ruins of the Spanish monarchy; yet neither he, nor his ministers, being content with the treaty obtained, they endeavoured to better themselves by intrigues, and to procure by craft, what by force of arms was impracticable. Cardinal Alberoni, the then Spanish minister, knew very well, that, though the emperor, by the late treaty, was put in possession of Sicily and Flanders, and secured in his other vast dominions, was yet so far drained of his treasure, by the last war, as to have no great stomach for a rupture, he judged the same of the other powers engaged; and, thinking that Great Britain had got too advantageous terms at the last general pacification, his aim was, to bring in a king upon her, who would be apt to relinquish every advantage in gratitude for the favours done him.

But as Spain was very unequal for accomplishing so great a project, the church politician thought of a tool from another quarter, and that was Charles XII. of Sweden, with the czar of Muscovy, whom he incessantly laboured to reconcile. The former was easily brought into the scheme, from a prospect of regaining

regaining Bremen and Verden, and, by means of the czar, of conquering an equivalent for the provinces he was obliged to cede to him; and the czar was again allured with the bait of having his daughter married to the imaginary monarch, and of having a beneficial trade with Britain into the ports of his new conquered provinces: however, it is not to be presumed, that either the Swedish or the Russian court would have gone so soon into the proposal, if some English and Scots gentlemen had not repaired, after the rebellion, into their dominions; more inflamed, after the defeats at Sheriff-muir and Preston, with an inclination for war, attributing their disasters in those places entirely to fatality. The representation of the rebels, and the gold of Peru remitted from Madrid, were very powerful arguments with the two enterprising monarchs; whose ministers now met upon the overtures of peace, and for bringing about the cardinal's proposal.

Baron Goertz, who was among the ablest statesmen in Europe, had twice an interview with the czar at the Hague about it; and, having informed him that he had got considerable sums from the disaffected in England, for buying ships and ammunition for invading Scotland, the Muscovite was so well pleased, that he went in person to Paris, on the 7th of May, where an entertainment of eight thousand dishes was prepared; and, under pretext of visiting the academy, arsenals, the chambers

bers of rarities, and every thing that might excite the attention of the curious, he conferred with the regent upon the intended scheme. His royal highness, though ever desirous of having a king fixed in Britain by French influence, seemed not quite satisfied with it, either from an unwillingness to expend more treasure in favour of a fugitive, or because he thought, that the Spanish gold, with the Russian and Swedish arms, were sufficient to bring about the design: The conference with the czar, though very secret, was, by the regent's secretary, communicated to the British ambassador, who directly acquainted his court, where such measures were taken, by stationing the ships and quattering the forces, as rendered the scheme impracticable; and, at the same time, a letter from the Swedish ambassador, count Gyllenbourg, to his brother Gustavus, then ambassador in France, having fallen into his lordship's hands, it was transmitted to the British court at London, where count Gyllenbourg was arrested, and most of his papers seized, in which were many letters from and to baron Goertz. From these it appeared plainly, that an invasion was designed; and, indeed, the same might have taken place, had it not been for the seasonable intelligence given by the earl of Stair.

But these were not the only attempts in favour of the unhappy fugitive, that were defeated through his means: but he likewise projected the Quadruple alliance, offensive and

and defensive, between his Britannick majesty, the emperor, the Most Christian king, and the States General of the United Provinces, the better to baffle the designs of the court of Madrid, who now regaled the Pretender; and, in hopes of a powerful diversion in Hungary, attacked the emperor, and fomented disturbances in the British dominions. For, having formed a design of seizing the island of Sicily, they fitted out a fleet for that purpose, and, in July 1718, mastered most part of the places in it; but while they were busily employed in attacking the citadel of Messina, the British fleet came to their assistance, and, upon the eleventh of August, attacked twenty-seven Spanish ships of the line, off Cape Passaro, and, after an obstinate engagement, took and sunk most of them: and soon after the king of Sicily acceded to the Quadruple alliance. This stunning blow so much chagrined the court of Spain, that an order was issued out for seizing upon all the British merchant ships and effects in that kingdom. To redress which injuries, letters of marque and reprisals were given to the British subjects against those of Spain, the third of October 1718; and, on the 17th, war was declared against her.

Indeed the court of Spain was, at this time, the most intriguing in Europe: for she did not only endeavour to disturb the tranquility of Britain, but likewise of France; for which purpose the prince of Cellemare, her ambassador at Paris, had entered into a contract with
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some mutineers, to whom he gave pensions: the design was, to take away the regent's life, to make an inroad into four provinces of the kingdom; to spanify the French ministry, and thus pave a way for uniting the whole, or at least the greatest part of the French dominions, with those of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon. Which scheme might have taken place, and rekindled the general war, if the same had not been discovered in the following extraordinary manner.

Two noblemen, who were intrusted with a packet from the Spanish ambassador to cardinal Alberoni, containing a relation of the progress which he had made with some noblemen for accomplishing the schemes of his court, entered a chaise, which broke down about two leagues from Paris. The postilion, observing them to take more care of their portmanteau than of themselves (one of them, saying, he would rather loose one hundred thousand pistoles than it) after driving them to the end of the first stage, he hastened to Paris, and gave immediate notice of what he had seen to the government. The council of the regency being instantly called, some were sent off, with an order to stop them; which they actually did at Poitiers, and not only arrested their persons, but sent their portmanteau to Paris; in which were found the plainest marks of a conspiracy. The same night (the 28th of November) several persons of distinction were seized and sent to the Bastile; and the

the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave the kingdom.

The abbot du Bois wrote a circular letter to several ministers residing at the French court, and particularly to the earl of Stair, acquainting him with the motives which induced them to take this step with regard to the prince de Cellamere, by whose letters it was plainly seen, that he was inciting the king's subjects to a revolution, and that he had formed a plan to destroy the tranquility of the kingdom; and then concluded, in terms which both discovered his respect to the British court, and a personal esteem for her ambassador.

Soon after this, a declaration of war was made by France against Spain; and, though the same was looked upon rather as fictitious than real, yet the burning of six new men of war upon the stocks at Port Passage, and the taking of some towns, put the matter of France's being in earnest beyond all possibility of doubt. And now Spain, being embarrassed with the two most powerful states in Europe, had recourse to art for extricating herself; she was not only deprived of a resource from the States General, from whom she hoped for assistance in ships, but the person whom she most trusted, viz. Charles XII. of Sweden, had been suddenly taken off at Frederickshall, on the 30th of November.

There was hardly a single step taken for the old Chevalier, that escaped the Lyncean eye
of

of the earl of Stair; for, from the month of June till the end of October, he was making the most pressing instances to the regent, that the duke of Ormond, who had resided, during that time, in the neighbourhood of Paris, might not be tolerated in France. This coming to the ears of Cardinal Alberoni, he invited him to come to Madrid; where he was let into the scheme agreed on betwixt France and Spain, and the king of Sweden, for making an invasion on Great Britain, as soon as he had reduced Frederickshall, while the duke of Ormond should make an attempt upon Ireland with eight thousand men, that were to sail with him from the port of Biscay. All this being discovered, by intercepting the prince of Cellamare's packets, the earl of Stair exerted himself to the utmost, in order to discourage the design, and sent such accounts of his procedure as astonished the king, and made him admire the depth of his penetration. Every thing was put in the best posture of defence, both in Britain and Ireland, where ten thousand pounds were set upon the head of the duke of Ormond.

So many great actions, so constant a run of glorious success in his negotiations, a reputation so full, and so entire, appeared the sweetest and pleasantest fruit of so much toil: for indeed it may be said, that he could have no more honours, since he was dignified, in a manner, with all the crowns that could be fixed upon the head of a subject; but that
which

which is ordinarily the bound and limit of other heroes, was only the way and the mean for ours to arrive at a higher pinnacle of greatness. Thus providence, by vesting in him so many illustrious employments, interesting him in so many different events, and making him the instrument of so many pieces of service to his country, prepared him, as it were, a master, in the knowledge of the British interest, to the great king George, that wisest of statesmen, whom here I may call invincible; nor, indeed, must we think, that his studies and his experience could be better employed than in giving a lesson to so acute a scholar: but what cannot a great master do, when he finds a genius of the first order to form? Scarce had the earl of Stair given his first advices, till he found it out of his power to insist upon others, being prevented by the quick-sightedness, by the penetration, by the happy and wise impetuosity of the courage and conduct of so great a king; and, as people observe, the thunderbolt, coming almost in a moment within the body of the cloud, to burn, to blaze, to burst, and to overturn; so the first fires of a military ardour, or of a political zeal, are scarce kindled in the heart of the king, when they burn, flame, and break through all. Britain and Ireland are put in a posture of defence; the councils of the house of Bourbon are overturned by the policy of the British ambassador; terror seizes upon

France

France; and a surprising admiration passes from one end of Europe to the other.

But, though Spain was unable now to execute her designs, yet the restless spirit of the cardinal still fomented the tumultuous passions of the British rebels, who had retired, partly by his invitation, and partly without any, into the dominions of his master. The invitation was kept a perfect secret, even at Madrid itself; but, as there were some people about the duke of Ormond, who, being elate with the prospect of the expedition, they thought proper to communicate the design to their correspondents at Paris; and these having shewn their letters to one M'Donald, a lieutenant-colonel in the Irish brigades, he handed them about, till at last they came to the ears of the British ambassador, who sent captain Gardiner express, with an account, that the preparations of the Spaniards, at Cadiz, were certainly designed against South Britain; and that their fleets would put to sea the 7th or 8th of March.

This piece of intelligence was communicated by the king to his parliament; who, after assuring him of their utmost efforts to defeat so extraordinary an attempt, the forces were every where in motion, and perhaps would have had more work to do, notwithstanding the German troops lay ready at Ostend to embark to the assistance of his Britannick majesty,

jeſty, if the enemies of their country had not met with a check from another quarter.

The duke of Ormond, with five thouſand land forces on board, having proviſion, ammunition, and every other neceſſary, embarked for the Weſt of England; but meeting with a ſtorm off Cape Finiſterre, they were ſeparated: his grace, with moſt of the Engliſh and Iriſh officers, were obliged to put back to Cadiz, while the earls of Marſhal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, purſued their voyage, and landed at Kintail in the north of Scotland, on the fifteenth of April, with about four hundred Spaniſh troops. They were very uneaſy to know the fate of the duke of Ormond, and deferred moving from thence, till they ſhould hear what was become of his grace: but, before any certain accounts arrived of his diſappointment, general Wightman was in full march to diſperſe them, having with him two Swiſs and three Dutch battalions, one hundred and twenty dragoons, with about three hundred and fifty foot ſoldiers. He came up with them on the Pretender's birth-day, at the paſs of Glenſhiel; where the M'Kenzies were ſtationed on one ſide, the marquis of Tullibardin, with the laird of M'Douall, upon the other, and the Spaniards intrenched in their front, making, in all, one thouſand fix hundred and fifty men. No ſooner did they enter the paſs, than, to their aſtoniſhment, the rebels, who lay concealed among the heath, alarmed them

them with their shot, and killed the colonel of a Dutch regiment upon the spot; which disheartened the soldiers much, till a major led them on, with such intrepidity, amidst the fire of the enemy, that he even played upon the flagelet before them. General Wightman observing the matter, ordered some hand-grenadoes to be thrown in among them, which fired the heath, that was then very long, about their ears; and one of the splinters wounding Seaforth in the wrist, his clan carried him off, and at the same time retired in the greatest confusion. As the general was unacquainted with the country, he ordered captain Monro of Culcain, who was there with about eighty men of his brother's vassals, to pursue them; which he did with a surprising alacrity, and, knowing the steep, he and they mounted them, under cover of some coehorns that were brought to bear upon the enemy, whom they pursued from one rock to another, till that brave officer was wounded. The rebels placed in the right of the pass having given way, those on the left made off full speed, leaving the Spaniards, who now became an easy conquest; for they were all made prisoners of war without so much as drawing one drop of blood.

This was the last effort in favour of the old Pretender, during the reign of George I. against whom so many plots and conspiracies were formed, but were as often baffled.

The refined policy of the earl of Stair was now become next to a proverb, and the people, as it were, bowed their knees before him as he went forth into the streets ; for the populace of France are very averse to a war with the British nation. His house was a receptacle for the poor, and he generally had the most substantial dishes prepared for them ; yea, and he himself always used an English meal for his Sunday's dinner ; to which were frequently invited many of the principal lords of the court, or some of the foreign ambassadors ; who all agreed in the admiration of his person, the dexterity of his conduct, and politeness of his address : and, indeed, this new blow, that had been given to the pretender's scheme, through his means, would, in a manner, have rendered him adored by the multitude, especially when they recollected the magnificence of his appearance, on the twenty-fifth of January, at his entry into Paris, to congratulate the king on his accession to the throne ; and, as the same was the most splendid ever seen on the like occasion, we think it will not be improper to describe it for the further entertainment of our readers.

The Order of his Entry.

1. THE coach of the chevalier de Saintot, the introducer of ambassadors.

2. The coach of the marshal d'Estrees, vice-admiral of France.

3. His excellency's under query, at the head of thirty-six footmen in his excellency's livery.

4. One of his majesty of Great-Britain's cabinet-couriers, or messengers, on horse-back.

5. Six horses led by six grooms, in the same livery as his excellency's footmen.

6. Twelve gentlemen on horse-back.

7. His excellency's query, or master of the horse, on horse-back.

8. Twelve pages, in his excellency's livery, on horse-back.

9. The king's coach; in which was his excellency, the marshal d'Estrees, and the chevalier de Saintot.

10. The coaches of the princes and the princesses of the blood, and that of the abbot du Bois, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs.

11. Thirty paces behind followed two Swissers, in his excellency's livery, on horse-back.

12. His excellency's body-coach, with eight glasses, drawn by eight dapple-grey Friesland horses, and a footman on each side the coach.

13. His

13. His excellency's second coach, drawn by eight mouse-coloured Neapolitan horses, and a footman on each side the coach.

14. His excellency's calash, drawn by eight bay-brown Spanish horses, with black manes, and a footman on each side.

15. His excellency's fourth coach, drawn by eight bay-brown Danish horses with black manes, and a footman on each side.

16. His excellency's fifth coach, drawn by eight black Friesland horses, and a footman on each side.

17. The coach of Mr. Crawford, secretary to the ambassy of his majesty of Great-Britain.

18. The coaches of several English lords and gentlemen who made up his excellency's train,

An Account of the Livery and Equipage.

His excellency's liveries, for his footmen, were of orange coloured English cloth, trimmed with velvet lace, blue, white, and crimson, worked so as to represent his excellency's coat of arms betwixt two silver laces, the sleeves and flaps covered with lace, and the shoulder-knot embroidered with silver and silk of the colour of the livery, adorned with tufts and lace of silver, with blue and white feathers, and cockades in their hats, their stockings of a cherry colour, with silver clocks;

Their gloves embroidered with silver four inches deep, and their linnen trimmed with fine Flanders lace.

The six led horses were the finest that eyes could see, mounted with saddles and housings of different sorts of velvet, with different embroideries of gold and silver of the richest sort, with their caparisons in gold and silver embroideries suited to the liveries, and in their compartments, the arms, cyphers, and devices of his excellency.

His quarry, or master of the horse, was mounted on a fine Spanish horse, his equipage of yellow velvet, set off with fine silver fringes and lace, the housings and holsters richly embroidered and embellished in the same manner. The harnesses of silver twist, set off with buckles and ornaments of massy silver.

The pages were clad in the finest orange coloured English cloth, trimmed with broad silver lace, pinked and richly wrought; their sleeves were faced with blue velvet with the same lace; their shoulder knots embroidered with silver wire, and adorned with tufts of silver; their hats laced with Spanish point-lace; their feathers white, and their cockades yellow; their gloves had silver fringes, and were embroidered on the back. They all rode on English horses, their saddles and housings trimmed with silver and gold lace and embroidery; the bridle-reins of silver twist, and all the furnishing of the horses of massy silver.

His excellency's gentlemen, and under querry, were all clad alike, in fine ash-coloured cloth, laced all over with a fine large open silver lace; their hats laced with silver, and their cockades and feathers yellow; their gloves, and the harness of their horses, the same with those of the pages.

The two Swissers, in his excellency's livery, had rich shoulder-belts covered with silver-lace and embroidery; their gloves had silver fringes, their swords silver handles, with large silver pommels, and knots of silver ribbon; their hats were laced, and their cockades and feathers white and blue. They rode on horses whose harnesses were trimmed with lace, fringes and embroidery.

His excellency's body-coach had eight glasses, was lined with Persian crimson velvet, and the ground-work of gold. Never was a more magnificent one seen, either for the fineness of the sculpture and gilding, or the richness of its other ornaments. The roof within was adorned with a large cartisane of the best gold in Paris, which went round and formed the cantonements. In the middle there was a great rose likewise of a gold cartisane, and in the centre a rich ornament formed like a wreathed tower. Round the roof there was a large gold tuft, garnished with fringes, spinage-seed, and jessamy flowers. The curtains were of Genoa crimson damask, richly embroidered with gold, laced, and garnished round with golden valences, adorned in the same manner. The

body of the coach without, except the posts, which were all of sculpture, was the same with the inner roof, and of crimson velvet, covered with very rich cartisanes of gold, with ornaments in mosaic work of gold wire. On the pannels, before and behind, and of the boot, were the arms of the king of Great-Britain in gold embroidery of large embossed work; and in those of the four corners were the devices of the orders of the garter, and St. Andrew embroidered in the same manner. The velvet on the outer roof is almost quite covered by the ornaments of the cartisane and the golden embroidery formed in the compartments. Instead of eight apples there were infants carved and joined two and two, holding in one hand the arms of Great-Britain, and in the other a plume of feathers of gold wire mixed with crimson flowers; and, instead of apples in the middle, there were four infants carved and joined, supporting the imperial crown of Great Britain. The cornish was adorned with a thick gold cordon, or ridge, richly embroidered; which, instead of nails, formed roses of gold in relievo; from which hung down a magnificent fringe in form of spinage-seed, and jessamy round the roof. All the braces and ornaments of the wheels or springs were richly gilt with ground gold. The braces, cross, and traverses, were covered with crimson velvet and open gold lace. The harness was also adorned with crimson velvet, and set off with buckles and other ornaments of gilt brass. The
rims

frims were of twists of gold crimson silk. The buttons, or knobs, were embellished with seeds of spinnage and jessamy in gold. The plumes of the horses were of very fine feathers adorned with gold in a new and very particular manner; and in the middle of them there was a garland of crimson flowers. The coachman's box was covered with the same velvet as the inside of the coach, with a rich gold fringe in form of spinnage-seed and jessamy.

The second surpassed all that had ever yet been seen for the beauty and curiosity of the sculpture, wherein the workman had in a manner outdone himself. This coach had seven glassess: it was lined with a crimson Genoa damask, with large gold flowers, set off with thick gold fringes. The outside was rich sculpture, partly silvered and partly gilt, with ornaments of flowers in their natural colours. The outside of the roof was covered with ornaments of brass silvered and gilt, and ended with a basket of flowers to the life. From this basket came eight strings which carried great buttons of silver and gold under each of the apples that adorned the cornish. The painting of the pannels were ornaments, with the arms, cyphers, and devices of his excellency the ambassador. That on the back represented the dawn of the day expelling darkness, the symbol of truth, which disperses error and false prejudice. The braces, false braces, crosses, traverses, harnesses, and reins, were of yellow velvet, adorned with lace, buttons, buckles,

&c. of silver. The horses plumes were of white feathers garnished with gold, and yellow ones with silver; from the middle of each of these came a garland of gold and silver mixed with flowers of all sorts of colours. The coachman's box was covered with the same sort of velvet that lined the coach, with gold fringe round it.

The fourth is a coach with seven glasses, covered within and without with crimson velvet, enriched with cartisanes and fringes of gold. The sculpture of the body without was gilt at bottom, and richly painted in all the pannels with the attributes of peace, set off with three rows of gilt nails; and, on the roof, was eight apples of brass gilt of a cherry colour. The braces, &c. were of Russia leather, pinked and embroidered; and all the braces of the finest model, and gilt of a cherry colour. The coachman's box was like the furniture within, with rich gold fringes.

The coachmen and postilions of all the coaches were clad in his excellency's livery, like those already mentioned.

All the horses for the coaches and saddles, had their manes adorned with rich knots and ribbons mixed with tufts of gold and silver.

The earl of Stair being come from la Raquette, where he was received by the marshal d'Estrees and the chevalier de Saintot, to the hotel for the entertainment of ambassadors extraordinary, he was complimented, in the king's

king's name, by the marquis de Gesores, first gentleman of the bedchamber; on the part of the duchess of Berry, by the chevalier de Hautefort, her master of the horse; on the part of madame, by the marquis de Simiane, her master of the horse: on the part of the duke of Orleans, by the marquis de Simiane, first gentleman of his bedchamber; and, on the part of the duchess of Orleans, by the marquis de St. Pierre, her master of the horse. He was lodged in that hotel, and entertained, the three following days by the king's officers.

On the seventh, the prince de Lambesc, and the chevalier de Saintot, introducer of ambassadors, went in the king's coach to the hotel of ambassadors extraordinary, to receive the earl of Stair, and conducted him to his first public audience of his majesty; on which occasion his excellency made the following speech to the king:

S I R,

THE king of Great-Britain, my master, sent me, his ambassador-extraordinary to your majesty, to congratulate you on your accession to the crown; and to assure you, That there is nothing he more ardently desires, than to maintain and improve that perfect friendship which is so happily established with your majesty; and to confirm and increase the union

and mutual confidence between the two nations which is so beneficial to each. As long as these nations are united, no foreign force can endanger the constitution of either state; and their union may naturally be of long duration. They have nothing to claim one of the other, no pretensions to be decided between them.

Nature hath bounded Great-Britain by the sea; she seeks nothing that belongs to her neighbour; she naturally finds her advantage in the public quiet and tranquility; her interest, as well as the inclination and wisdom of her king, dispose her to desire the peace and happiness of her neighbours, and to contribute thereto.

Your majesty is possessed of the finest and most powerful kingdom of Europe: it wants nothing but quiet and tranquility to render it the most happy and the most flourishing.

These two potent nations, so happily situated, united by interest so natural, and by treaties so wisely concerted, will not only be happy in the constitutions of each state, as long as their union last, but will communicate the happiness they enjoy to their neighbours, and to all Europe.

The treaty lately made sets out so clearly the bounds between the chief powers; so carefully provides against all occasions for war, that human prudence can foresee in the course of time; and settles a guaranty of such a nature, and of such force, for the public tranquility,

quility, that we have strong reason to flatter ourselves, no power will attempt to disturb it; and your majesty will have the satisfaction and the glory to see, in the beginning of your auspicious reign, France and all Europe re-established; which have been so cruelly torn in pieces by such very long and destructive wars.

That in which your majesty is at present engaged jointly with your allies, will be of short continuance: it is impossible that the ungoverned passion, and blind ambition, of particular persons, should long withstand the forces of the greatest powers in Europe, united for establishing the public tranquility on lasting and solid foundations. The public peace and welfare will soon succeed to these transient alarms.

The king, my master, wishes your majesty may enjoy, in a long course of years, you and your descendants, uninterrupted fruits of that welfare; and that the two nations, as well as the kings, may ever be united, as well during his reign as those of his posterity.

As I have had the happiness to see those engagements formed, which unite the king my master with your majesty, I shall think myself very fortunate, if by my endeavours, I may any way contribute to the keeping up of this happy union, and to the rendering it more perfect between the two nations.

The answer returned by his majesty was to this effect: That he was extremely pleased with the good intelligence between himself and the king of Great Britain; that he was satisfied it was very beneficial to the two nations; that his excellency might assure the king, that, on his part, he would do all that was in his power for continuing and improving the friendship and good correspondence with the king, and between the nations; and that the choice which the king had made of his excellency was very agreeable to him.

From this grand appearance made by the earl of Stair, one may judge of the greatness of his soul, and of the honour he did to the British nation during his ministry. He insisted upon an explicit answer to his memorials relating to the intended port of Mardyke, before he assumed any character, with that firmness and dignity which ever distinguished him in battles, courts, and senates, in favour and disgrace.

He so far served his country, as three times to defeat the Pretender's projects; and, extending his generosity to the whole of Europe, he projected the Quadruple alliance, which was the means of pacifying the troubles, both in the north and the south.

When the emperor and the king of Spain were at war, he formed the plan of a treaty between his royal master and the Most Christian king; by which the contending powers were brought to an accommodation. He carried
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on that noble contest with the princes of the blood, on the ceremonial to be observed to ambassadors of the first order, and brought it to that issue which has continued the rule ever since. His vigilance and circumspection could not be deceived, and his presence of mind, spirit, and resolution, such as could not be daunted, overawed, or discomposed. His address and deportment were the admiration of the court, which had, till then, the vanity to think, those delicate flowers were only to be found in their own soil. His abilities had such an ascendant over the regent, that, being once publicly asked, what part his royal highness would take in the troubles of the north? he answered, What the British ambassador pleases.

So many grand occasions and honourable appearances proved the means of incumbering his personal estate, which, with the debts he had contracted in gaming, was the cause of his being recalled. Upon his return, the king declared himself so well pleased with his conduct, that he would have created him a duke, if he had not been prevented by law. The true sense which the king had of his fidelity, was the greatest and most illustrious eulogium of his virtue: the people echoed back the praises of their king, while the whole of his dominions resounded with applause for his conduct; several prints were published, and every one took a pride to have his picture by them.

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He continued all that king's reign as one of his privy council; was present at the most solemn transactions; and, on his late majesty's ascending the throne, he was received into the same confidence.

In April, 1730, he was made lord admiral of Scotland, which, with his other posts, he held till April 1733, when he fell into disgrace at court, upon the following occasion:

In the winter of the year 1732, there was brought into parliament a scheme for changing the duties on tobacco and wine, and bringing them under the laws of Excise, for preventing of frauds in the revenue, which some people at the helm loudly complained of. This affair was disliked by the trading part of the nation, who made so great a noise, that in January the tobacconists of London, at a general meeting, agreed to act in concert with the committee appointed by the citizens, merchants, and traders of London, and, by all just and lawful means, to oppose any new excise, or extention of the excise laws, under any pretence whatsoever: several corporations earnestly recommended the same thing to their representatives; and, in February, the city of London laid their grievances before their four representatives. Notwithstanding which, the scheme was proposed, and the motion, with regard to tobacco, was made, on the fourteenth of March, in a grand committee; and, after a warm debate, the question was carried, two hundred and sixty-six against two hundred

hundred and five; and afterwards, March sixteen, in the house, by two hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and eighty-nine, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly; which being done upon the fourth of April, and read for the first time, the sheriffs, with several of the aldermen, common-council-men, eminent merchants and traders of the city, went in their coaches to Westminster-hall, petitioning to be heard by their council against the bill, which was appointed to be read a second time on the tenth of April; but their petition, upon a question, was rejected, two hundred and fourteen against one hundred and ninety-seven. Other petitions were also brought in, when sir Robert Walpole moved, that the bill might not be read till the twelfth of June; which being agreed to, the scheme dropped; on which great rejoicings were made.

Among the number of those who opposed it was the earl of Stair, not, indeed, from any dislike he had to the then prime minister, but from a prospect of the dismal consequences that might arise, from a people for whose laws and liberties more martyrs have suffered, than for those of any other nation; and it being demanded, by the late queen, why he did so; his answer was, "That he wished her royal family better than to agree to such a project." A little time after he resigned all his places into his majesty's hands; as did the lord Cobham, the duke of Bolton, the earl
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of Chesterfield, the earl of Burlington, and many others.

In the next session, which was the last of that parliament, he voted with all the candour and integrity that became so great a man, not regarding the smiles or frowns of a court; and when a motion was made in the house of lords to petition his majesty to inform them of the persons that had advised him to remove so many eminent and truly brave men, he behaved with a moderation that became the greatness of his soul.

In June, 1734, he appeared at the elections; and, as the party who had sided with sir Robert Walpole in promoting the excise-scheme, had been at great pains to carry the elections of Scotland, he was the first to enter a protest against the method of their procedure, viz. that the military, who by act of parliament ought to be removed some miles from the place of election, were, nevertheless, under arms, at no further distance than half a mile; the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, and Roxburgh, the marquis of Tweedale, and several other lords, who mentioned the very peers who were afterwards chosen, as those contained in the list named by the minister and sent down by his agent, protested likewise. And the matter might have been carried a greater length, had not the late duke of Argyle, during the heat of their debate, told the meeting, that he saw many strange faces in the room, and that he thought the
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same should be cleared; on which several ladies, who had come in, withdrew, and were followed by the lords in the opposite interest: so that the court party, as it was called, entirely prevailed; and the petition given into parliament, complaining of the election, was afterwards refused.

From this time he applied himself to agriculture, which he understood to such a degree, that he might be called the Virgil of the age; he employed about two hundred workmen every day, and was as much admired for his husbandry at home, as he had been for his politeness at the court of Versailles.

During his retirement from court, he was visited by the nobility from all quarters; he corresponded with several generals abroad, and with some of those noblemen in England who had resigned at the same time with himself. He was most facetious in conversation, and entertained his company with such discourses as served to instruct as well as to amuse. When speaking of the king of Poland, he attracted the admiration of all who heard him; and he has frequently declared, that he preferred hunting the stag at Warsaw, to the gallantries and amusements of the court of Versailles. His generosity, here, was like the greatness of his soul, for never man bestowed his favours with a better grace. One day a physician had come to his house, and his lordship judging, that, if he offered him money, it might be refused, contrived a way
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to make him a present: he went to his parlour, and wrote a line, which he gave to the doctor to deliver, at the same time apologizing for using the freedom with him, in the politest and most amiable manner; the gentleman told him, that his lordship's commands were only an honour to him, and with pleasure they should be obeyed. Upon his coming to Edinburgh, he instantly repaired to the person for whom the letter was directed, and delivered it to him; when, to his surprise, he was shewn the contents of it, which were as follow:

S I R,

PAY the bearer thirty guineas, which is but a small compliment for his care of me; and place the same to the account of, sir,

Your very humble servant,

STAIR.

It would be almost impossible to represent the whole of his amiable and generous actions. He was always a friend to the distressed; and, when stripped of all his employments, supported the dignity of a nobleman who had once proved an ornament to the British nation. But while he was encouraging husbandry, and doing good to mankind, he was not unmindful of religion; for he went to church every Sunday. And here it may be observed, that, in France, his chapel was an asylum to the Pro-

Protestants, for when any of them were taken up for attending at it he was at the expence of a memorial to the regent, who directly gave them leave to act as they pleased. Thus he continued till the year 1741, when a change happened at court, to which he was called on the following occasion :

The British merchants had long complained, that letters of marque had been issued out from the Spanish admiralty against the British ships, under pretence of searching for contraband goods and passports; numerous representations were made upon this at Madrid, several conferences were held upon the subject; and at last a convention was signed, on the fourth of January 1739, in which Spain agreed to pay ninety-five thousand pounds, to compensate the losses of Great Britain. This affair might have been amicably terminated, had not the caal of dissention been blown from another quarter. Spain mustered up a claim of sixty-eight thousand pounds upon the African company concerned in the negroes, and refused to pay the ninety-five thousand pounds, till the sixty-eight thousand pounds were deduced; nay, so high did they rise in their demands, that Thomas Geraldino declared, his master would as soon part with his eyes, as with his right of visiting ships in the American seas. But perhaps things had not so soon been carried to an extremity, if the Spanish ambassador had not informed his court of the divisions in parliament, and that,

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by some well-placed sums, it was easy to get a majority which might obtain such sums as they pleased. This, with the bishop of Rennes's declaration at Madrid, of the people being ripe for a revolution, inflamed the Spaniards the more, which made them seize the British ships wherever they could find them. On the twenty-third of October, 1739, war was declared against Spain; who followed, in her turn, on the eighth of November.

Admiral Vernon, who had been sent to the West Indies for protecting our trade, had taken Porto Bello on the twenty-second of November, and received thirty thousand piasters as a ransom for not pillaging the town. On the first of April he sailed to Carthagena, whose outworks he took, and then sailed victorious up to the harbour of the town, and debarked the land forces, under cover of the cannon from the ships; but a violent rain falling, which is mortal to our soldiers in those parts, and the ladders being too short, through an error in the mathematician who computed the height of the wall of fort St. Lazara, they were obliged to retire, after trying what bravery itself would do. Hence Spain rose in her demands; and, being secretly assisted by the French, she was the more active in prosecuting her mighty projects.

About a year after the beginning of the war with Spain, an event happened, which, for eight years together, occasioned the most melancholy scenes: the emperor Charles VI. died,

died, the ninth of October 1740; which day his eldest daughter, now empress, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduchess of Austria; her ministers at the several courts of Europe notified her accession, and supported the legality of what was done, from her claim, in consequence of the will of Ferdinand I. and of the deed of Charles VI. himself, dated the twentieth of June 1722; wherein, with the unanimous voice of a general diet of the states of Hungary, then met at Presburg, an act was passed for settling the succession of that crown on the female line of the house of Austria, with their descendants, in failure of male issue, according to the right of primogeniture. The queen's title was acknowledged by several princes; but the elector of Bavaria refused, and put in for it himself, founding his pretensions to the Austrian succession upon the same will of Ferdinand I. and descent from Charles V. as also, that he was married to the emperor Joseph's daughter. The troops of his electorate marched, in September 1741, in support of his claim, and were followed by thirty thousand French forces, under pretence of securing the electing an emperor according to the treaty of Westphalia, of which their king was the guarantee.

On the other hand, his Britannick majesty supported the Pragmatick Sanction, and opposed the fixing of an emperor by the influence of the court of Versailles; and, though
her

Hungarian majesty was attacked by the king of Prussia, who marched his troops, on the fourteenth of December, to protect Silesia from insults, and, at the same time, deprived of assistance from the Russians, between whom and the Swedes a war had been just kindled; yet, under all these disadvantages, was she assisted by the British nation.

During the winter of the year 1741, the armies were active abroad; Lintz, and a few other places were taken by the Austrians, who gained some advantages in the field, and extended into Bavaria itself. At home, the parliament was taken up with examining into the merits of elections; many of which being carried against sir Robert Walpole, he resigned his places into his majesty's hands; on which a total change ensued in the ministry. A resolution was taken for supporting the queen of Hungary, and restoring the balance of power, which must have been entirely destroyed, if the treaty of dividing the dominions of the house of Austria had succeeded, according to the proposal of France. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred thousand pounds were given her; a considerable body of British troops were sent to Flanders, the command of which, as also of the Hanoverians and Hessians, was given to the earl of Stair; who now began, like the sun, after setting for a long night, to rise with the brighter lustre. In March 1742, he was made field-marshal of his majesty's forces, and ambassador.

ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general.

This sudden rise procured him the love of every true Briton; and the king, on seeing him, received him with a tenderness and affection which convinced all present, that his majesty was inclined to remember the maxim of the wisest of kings: viz. Not to forget his father's friend.

After this he was introduced to the prince of Wales, who behaved with that endearing sweetness, which proclaimed him the life, the hopes, and the ornament of the British nation.

The whole court admired him; his old friends repaired to him, and those he received with peculiar marks of gratitude and complaisance. In a word, his former disgrace made him shine the brighter; the poets of the time vied in singing his eulogium; and Britain resounded with his praise, while Europe stood amazed, expecting some extraordinary event, upon the restoration of a degraded favourite, the fame of whose transactions had formerly echoed thro' their territories.

He directly applied himself to the management of the important business committed to him; and, knowing that he had to deal with the ambassadors of Spain, France, and the new emperor, he assiduously studied their memorials, and made answer to them before he set out for Holland, where, on the tenth of April, five days after his arrival, being conducted to a
public

public audience of their high mightinesses, he made to them a very spirited harangue, which had the desired effect.

This memorial was followed by another, of the eighteenth of August, in which the pressing instances of the queen of Hungary, for assistance from his Britannic majesty, against a powerful French army, were laid down, and the pitiful artifices of the French detected. To mention every transaction of this unequalled statesman, would swell this article beyond the extent of so small a volume; suffice it then to say, that the earl of Stair at length brought about a general pacification with the aforementioned nations, and seemingly to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned; but not till after the famous battle of Dettingen, where he, for the last time, distinguished himself, in concert with king George II. as a general of undaunted bravery and intrepidity, added to the most consummate wisdom; to whose generalship and accomplishments in the art military, the English nation owes the glory of that day. Soon after this action he petitioned to resign, which being granted him, he again returned to the pleasures of a country life; but, ever ready to serve his king and country; upon the breaking out of the late rebellion he repaired to court, and offered his service to suppress it, which was gladly accepted, and he accompanied the duke of Cumberland to Edinburgh, driving the pretender and his rabble army before them. After

ter the suppression of this insurrection, he continued at court till the winter of year 1746, when he repaired to Scotland, finding himself in a languishing condition, and unfit for business. By the help of his physicians he was preserved till about ten at night of the seventh of May, 1747, when he breathed out a life spent in as eminent services for his country, as ever was that of a subject.

Thus died field-marshal John earl of Stair, who was a nobleman of the rarest abilities, equally fitted for the camp or the court; and how hard is it to say in which he excelled? A man of the strictest honour and veracity; great without pride, beautiful without vanity, just without rigour, wise without arrogance, bountiful without ostentation; supporting the highest of dignity with a decency, humanity, and moderation, only to be found among the great, being possessed of every talent that could make a man great in himself, serviceable to his king, or an ornament to his country.

The earl of Stair was a man about six feet high, exceeding strait and genteel in his body, which inclined to an agreeable slenderness; he was, perhaps, one of the handsomest men of his time, and remarkable, among the nobility, for his graceful mien and majestic appearance; his complexion was fair, but rather comely than delicate; his forehead was large and graceful, his nose was strait, and exquisitely proportioned to his face; his eyes were exactly fitted to his features, being of a blue colour,

and full of sweetness; his cheeks and chin every way delightful, while the other parts of his body were so fitly united, that one could not but admire and love him the moment he appeared; for his amiable countenance, in which there was imprinted a natural smile, could not fail to inspire the spectators with a warmth of affection not to be accounted for: these endowments of body were but indications of the beauties of the nobler part, and which, as he possessed them both in their highest perfection, it is imagined, that all true lovers of liberty will imitate the steps of him, who was the darling of his country, and whom human nature may ever boast of, for having produced so great a son.



THE LIFE OF

HENRY FIELDING.

HENRY FIELDING was born at Sharpham-park, in Somersetshire, near Glastonbury, on the twenty-second of April, 1707.

His father, Edmund Fielding, served in the wars under the duke of Marlborough, and arrived to the rank of lieutenant-general, at the latter end of George I. or the beginning of George II. His mother was the daughter of judge Gold, the grandfather of the present Sir Henry Gold, one of the barons of the Exchequer.

By these his parents he had four sisters, Catharine, Ursula, Sarah, and Beatrice; and one brother, Edmund, who was an officer in the marine service. Sarah Fielding, his third sister, is well known to the literary world by many elegant performances.

Our author's mother having paid her debt to nature, lieutenant-general Fielding married a second time, and the issue of that marriage was six sons, George, James, Charles, John, William, and Basil; all dead except John, who is at present in the commission of the

peace for Middlesex, Surry, Essex, and the liberties of Westminster.

Henry Fielding received the first rudiments of his education at home, under the care of the reverend Mr. Oliver, of whom he has given a very humorous and striking portrait in Joseph Andrews, under the name of parson Trulliber.

From Mr. Oliver's care he was removed to Eton school, where he became acquainted with lord Lyttleton, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the late Mr. Winnington, &c. When he left this great seminary, he was said to be uncommonly versed in the Greek and Latin classics; for both which he ever retained a strong admiration.

From Eton he was sent to Leyden, and there he studied the civilians for about two years; but remittances failing, at the age of twenty, or thereabout, he returned from Leyden to London; where, though under age, he found himself his own master; from which source flowed all the inconveniencies that attended him throughout the remainder of his life. The brilliancy of his wit, the vivacity of his humour, and his high relish of social enjoyment, soon brought him into request with the men of taste and literature, and with the voluptuous of all ranks. His finances were not equal to the frequent draughts made upon him by the extravagance which naturally followed. He was allowed, indeed, two hundred pounds
a year

a year by his father ; but, as he himself used to say, any body might pay it that would.

The fact was, general Fielding having married again soon after the death of our author's mother, had so large an increase of family, and that too so quick, that he could not spare any considerable disbursements for the maintenance of his eldest son. Of this truth Henry Fielding was sensible ; and he was therefore, in whatever difficulties he might be involved, never wanting in filial piety ; which, his nearest relations agree, was a shining part of his character.

Disappointments, indeed, were observed to provoke him into occasional peevishness, and severity of animadversion ; but his general temper was remarkably gay, and, for the most part, overflowing into wit, mirth and good-humour.

As he disdained all littleness of spirit, where ever he met with it in his dealings with the world, his indignation was apt to rise ; and, as he was of a penetrating discernment, he could always develope selfishness, mistrust, pride, avarice, interested friendship, the ungenerous, and the unfeeling temper, however plausibly disguised ; and, as he could read them to the bottom, so he could likewise assault them with the keenest strokes of spirited and manly satire. Disagreeable impressions never continued long upon his mind ; his imagination was fond of seizing every gay prospect ; and, in his worst

adversities, filled him with sanguine hopes of a better situation. To obtain this, he flattered himself that he should find his resources in his wit and invention; and accordingly he commenced a writer for the stage in the year 1727, being then about twenty years of age.

His first dramatic piece soon after adventured into the world, and was called *Love in Several Masques*. It immediately succeeded the *Provoked Husband*, a play, which, for the continued space of twenty-eight nights, received as great and as just applauses as ever were bestowed on the English stage. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Fielding's play was favourably received.

His second play, the *Temple Beau*, appeared the year after. From the year 1727 to the end of 1736, almost all his plays and farces were written, not above two or three having appeared since that time; so that he produced about eighteen theatrical performances, plays and farces included, before he was quite thirty years old.

Though in the plan of his pieces he is not always regular, yet he is often happy in his diction and stile; and, in every groupe that he has exhibited, there are to be seen particular delineations that will amply recompense the attention bestowed upon them. The comedy of the *Miser*, which he has mostly taken from Moliere, has maintained its ground upon the stage ever since it was first performed; and has the value of a copy from a great painter by an eminent hand.

If the comedy of *Pasquin* was restored to the stage, it would perhaps be a favourite entertainment with our audiences. It is said, that the wit and humour of our modern *Aristophanes*, Mr. Fielding, whose quarry in some of his pieces, particularly the *Historical Register*, was higher game than in prudence he should have chosen, were principal instruments that occasioned the law which subjected all new pieces to the inspection of the licenser.

His farces were almost all of them very successful; and many of them are still acted every winter with approbation. They were generally the production of two or three mornings. The *Lottery*, the *Intriguing Chambermaid*, and the *Virgin Unmasked*, besides the real entertainment they afford, had, on their first appearance, this additional merit, that they served to make discoveries of that true comic genius which was then dawning forth in that celebrated actress Mrs. Clive.

So early as when he was at Leyden, Mr. Fielding made some efforts towards a comedy in the sketch of *Don Quixote* in England. When he left that place, and settled in London, a variety of characters attracted his notice, and of course served to strengthen his favourite inclination: the inconsistencies that flow from vanity, from affectation, from hypocrisy, from pretended friendship, and, in short, all the dissonant qualities which are often whimsically blended together by the follies of men,

could not fail to strike a person who had so fine a sense of ridicule; and, accordingly, we find that he never seems so happy, as when he is developing a character made up of motley and repugnant properties.

To search out and describe objects of this kind, seems to have been the favourite bent of his mind; and, from his happy description of the manners, he may justly be pronounced an admirable comic genius in the largest acceptation of the phrase, implying humorous and pleasant imitation of men and manners, whether in the way of fabulous narration, or of dramatic composition.

In the former species of writing lay the excellence of Mr. Fielding: in dramatic imitation he must be allowed to fall short of the great masters in that art. What the ingenious Mr. Hurd observes of Ben. Johnson, may be justly applied to Fielding:

“ His taste for ridicule was strong, but indelicate, which made him not over curious in the choice of his topics. His style in picturing his characters, though masterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of so bold a colouring. Thus the byass of his nature leaning him to Plautus, rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered, that his wit is too frequently caustic, his raillery coarse, and his humour excessive.”

This

This want of refinement seems to have been principally owing to the woundings which every fresh disappointment gave Fielding, before he was yet well disciplined in the school of life; and, perhaps too, the asperity of his muse was not a little encouraged by the practice of two great wits, who had fallen into the same vein before him; I mean Wycherley and Congreve, who were not fond of copying the amiable part of human life.

In his style, Mr. Fielding derived an error from the same source; he sometimes forgot that humour and ridicule were the two principal ingredients of comedy; and, like Congreve, he frequently aimed at decorations of wit, which do not appear to make any part of the ground, but seem rather to be embroidered upon it.

There is another circumstance respecting the drama, in which Fielding's judgment seems to have failed him: the strength of his genius certainly lay in fabulous narration, and he did not sufficiently consider, that some incidents of a story which, when related, may be worked up into a deal of pleasantry and humour, are apt, when thrown into action, to excite sensations incompatible with humour and ridicule.

To these causes of his failure in the province of the drama, may be added that sovereign contempt he always entertained for the understandings of the generality of mankind. It was in vain to tell him, that a particular scene was dangerous on account of its coar-

ness, or because it retarded the general business with feeble efforts of wit; he doubted the discernment of his auditors, and so thought himself secured by their stupidity, if not by his own humour and vivacity. A very remarkable instance of this disposition appeared when the comedy of the *Wedding Day* was put into rehearsal.

An actor, who was principally concerned in the piece, and, though young, was then, by the advantage of happy requisites, an early favourite of the public, told Mr. Fielding, he was apprehensive, that the audience would make free with him in a particular passage; adding, that a repulse might so flurry his spirits as to disconcert him for the rest of the night, and therefore begged that it might be omitted. "No, d-----mn 'em," replied the bard, "if the scene is not a good one, let them find that out."

Accordingly the play was brought on without alteration; and, just as had been foreseen, the disapprobation of the house was provoked at the passage before objected to; and the performer, alarmed and uneasy at the hisses he had met with, retired into the Green-room, where the author was solacing himself with a bottle of champaign. He had by this time drank pretty plentifully, and cocking his eye at the actor, while streams of tobacco trickled down from the corner of his mouth, "What's the matter, Garrick," says he, "what are they hissing now?" "Why, the scene that I begged

begged you to retrench ; I knew it would not do ; and they have so frightened me, that I shall not be able to collect myself again the whole night." " Oh ! d--mn 'em," replies the author, " they have found it out, have they ?"

If we add to the foregoing remarks an observation of his own ; namely, that he left off writing for the stage, when he ought to have begun ; and, together with this, consider his extreme hurry and dispatch, we shall be able fully to account for his not bearing a more distinguished place in the rank of dramatic writers.

It is apparent, that, in the frame and constitution of his genius there was no defect, but some faculty or other was suffered to lie dormant, and the rest, of course, were exerted with less efficacy : at one time we see his wit superseding all his other talents ; at another, his invention runs riot, and multiplies incidents and characters in a manner repugnant to all the received laws of the drama. Generally his judgment was very little consulted ; and, indeed, how could it be otherwise ? When he had contracted to bring on a play, or a farce, he would go home rather late from a tavern, and would, the next morning, deliver a scene to the players written upon the papers which wrapped up the tobacco in which he so much delighted.

Though it was the lot of Henry Fielding to write always with a view to profit, he derived

but small aids towards his subsistence from the treasurer of the play-house. One of his farces he has printed as it was damned at the theatre royal in Drury-lane; and that he might be more generous to his enemies than they were willing to be to him, he informs them, in the general preface to his Miscellanies, that, for the Wedding Day, though acted six nights, his profits from the house did not exceed fifty pounds.

A fate not much better attended him in his earlier productions: but the severity of the public, and the malice of his enemies, met with a noble alleviation from the patronage of the late duke of Richmond, John duke of Argyll, the late duke of Roxborough, and many persons of distinguished rank and character; among whom may be numbered the present lord Lyttleton, whose friendship to our author softened the rigour of his misfortunes while he lived, and exerted itself towards his memory when he was no more, by taking pains to clear up imputations of a particular kind, which had been thrown out against his character.

Mr. Fielding had not been long a writer for the stage, when he married miss Craddock, a beauty from Salisbury. About that time his mother dying, a moderate estate, at Stower, in Dorsetshire, devolved to him. To that place he retired with his wife, on whom he doated, with a resolution to bid adieu to all the follies and intemperances of a town life.

But

But, unfortunately, a kind of family pride here gained an ascendant over him, and he began immediately to vie in splendor with the neighbouring country squires. With an estate not much above two hundred pounds a year, and his wife's fortune, which did not exceed fifteen hundred pounds, he encumbered himself with a large retinue of servants, all clad in costly yellow liveries. For their master's honour, these people could not descend so low, as to be careful in their apparel, but in a month or two were unfit to be seen; the squire's dignity required that they should be new equipped; and his chief pleasure consisted in society and convivial mirth, hospitality threw open his doors, and in less than three years, entertainments, hounds, and horses, entirely devoured a little patrimony, which, had it been managed with œconomy, might have secured to him a state of independence for the rest of his life. Sensible of the disagreeable situation he had now reduced himself to, he immediately determined to exert his best endeavours to recover, what he had wantonly thrown away, a decent competence; and being then about thirty years of age, he betook himself to the study of the law. The friendships he met with from some, who have since risen to be the first ornaments of the law, will ever do honour to his memory. His application, while he was a student in the Temple, was remarkably intense: he has been frequently known, by his intimates, to retire

retire late at night from a tavern to his chambers, and there read, and make extracts from the most abstruse authors, for several hours before he went to bed. After the customary time of probation at the Temple, he was called to the bar. He attended with assiduity, both in term-time and on the Western circuit, as long as his health permitted; but the gout soon rendered it impossible for him to be as constant at the bar, as the laboriousness of his profession required: he could only now follow the law by snatches, at such intervals as were free from indisposition; which could not but be a dispiriting circumstance, as he saw himself at once disabled from ever rising to the eminence he aspired to. However, under the severities of pain and want, he still pursued his researches with an eagerness of curiosity peculiar to him; and, though it is wittily remarked by Wycherly, that Apollo and Lyttleton seldom meet in the same brain, yet Mr. Fielding is allowed to have acquired a respectable share of jurisprudence, and in some particular branches he is said to have risen to a great degree of eminence, more especially in crown law, as may be judged from his leaving two volumes in folio on that subject. This work remains still unpublished, in the hands of his brother, sir John Fielding; and it is deemed perfect in some parts. It will serve to give us an idea of the great force and vigour of his mind, if we consider him pursuing so arduous a study under the exigencies of family.

family distress, with a wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, looking up to him for subsistence, with a body lacerated by the acutest pains, and with a mind distracted with a thousand avocations, and obliged, for immediate supply, to produce, almost extempore, a play, a farce, a pamphlet, or a newspaper.

A large number of fugitive political tracts, which had their value when the incidents were actually passing on the great scene of business, came from his pen: the periodical paper, called the *Champion*, owed its chief support to his abilities; and though his essays in that collection cannot now be ascertained, yet the reputation arising to him, at the time of publication, was not inconsiderable.

In the progress of Henry Fielding's talents, there seem to have been three remarkable periods; one, when his genius broke forth at once, with an effulgence superior to all the rays of light it had before emitted, like the sun in his morning glory; the second, when it was displayed with collected force, and a fulness of perfection, like the sun in meridian majesty; and the third, when the same genius, grown more cool and temperate, still continued to cheer and enliven, but shewed at the same time that it was tending to its decline, like the sun, abating from his ardor, but still gilding the western hemisphere.

To these three epochs of our author's genius, there is an exact correspondence, in his
Joseph

Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones, and Amelia. It will not be improper here to mention, that the reverend Mr. Young, a learned and much esteemed friend of Mr. Fielding's, sat for parson Adams. Mr. Young was remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with the Greek authors, and had as passionate a veneration for *Æschylus* as parson Adams; the overflowings of his benevolence were as strong, and his fits of reverie were as frequent, and occurred, too, upon the most interesting occasions. Of this last observation a singular instance is given, by a gentleman who served, during the last war, in Flanders, in the very same regiment to which Mr. Young was chaplain: on a fine summer's evening, he thought proper to indulge himself in his love of a solitary walk; and accordingly he sallied forth from his tent: the beauties of the hemisphere, and the landscape round him, pressed warmly on his imagination; his heart overflowed with benevolence to all God's creatures, and gratitude to the Supreme Dispenser of that emanation of glory which covered the face of things. It is very possible that a passage in his dearly-beloved *Æschylus* occurred to his memory on this occasion, and seduced his thoughts into a profound meditation. Whatever was the object of his reflections, certain it is, that something did powerfully seize his imagination, so as to preclude all attention to things that lay immediately before him; and, in that deep fit of absence, Mr. Young proceeded on his

journey, till he arrived, very quietly and calmly, in the enemy's camp, where he was, with difficulty, brought to a recollection of himself, by the repetition of "Qui va là," from the soldiers upon duty. The officer who commanded, finding that he had strayed thither in the undesigning simplicity of his heart, and seeing an innate goodness in his prisoner, which commanded his respect, very politely gave him leave to pursue his contemplations home again.

Soon after the publication of Joseph Andrews, Fielding's last comedy, the *Wedding Day*, was exhibited on the stage: and, as we have already observed, it was attended with an indifferent share of success. The law, from this time, had its hot and cold fits with him. The repeated shocks of illness disabled him from being as assiduous an attendant at the bar, as his own inclination, and patience of the most laborious application, would otherwise have made him. Besides the demands for expence, which his veletudinarian habit of body constantly made upon him, he had likewise a family to maintain; from business he derived little or no supplies; and his prospects, therefore, grew every day more gloomy and melancholy. To these discouraging circumstances, if we add the infirmity of his wife, whom he loved tenderly, and the agonies he felt on her account, the measures of his afflictions will be well nigh full. To see her daily languishing and wearing away
before

before his eyes, was too much for a man of his strong sensations; the fortitude of mind, with which he met all the other calamities of life, deserted him on this most trying occasion; and her death, which happened about this time, brought on such a vehemence of grief, that his friends began to think him in danger of losing his reason.

When the first emotions of his sorrow were abated, he began again to struggle with his fortune. He engaged in two periodical papers successively. The first of these was called *The True Patriot*, which was set on foot during the late rebellion, and was conducive to the excitement of loyalty, and a love for the constitutions in the breast of his countrymen. The *Jacobite Journal* was calculated to discredit the shattered remains of an unsuccessful party; and, by a well-applied raillery and ridicule, to bring the sentiments of the disaffected into contempt.

By this time Fielding had attained the age of forty-three; and, being incessantly pursued by reiterated attacks of the gout, he was wholly rendered incapable of pursuing the business of a barrister any longer. He was obliged therefore to accept the office of an acting magistrate in the commission of the peace for Middlesex, with a yearly pension out of the public-service money.

That he was not inattentive to the calls of his duty, is evident from the many tracts he published relating to several of the penal laws,
and

and to the vices and mal-practices which those laws were intended to restrain ; particularly A Charge to the Grand-Jury, delivered at Westminster, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1749 ; the Enquiry into the Causes of the Increase of Robberies ; and A Proposal for the Maintenance of the Poor.

Amidst these severe exercises of his understanding, and all the laborious duties of his office, his invention could not lie still ; but he found leisure to amuse himself, and afterwards the world, with *The History of Tom Jones*. And now we are arrived at the second grand epoch of Mr. Fielding's genius, when all his faculties were in perfect unison, and conspired to produce a complete work, eminent in all the great essentials of composition ; in fable, character, sentiment, and elocution ; and, as these could not be all united in so high an assemblage, without a rich invention, a fine imagination, an enlightened judgment, and a lively wit, we may fairly here decide his character, and pronounce him, the English Cervantes.

It may be added, that, in many parts of *Tom Jones*, we find he possessed the softer graces of character painting, and of description ; many situations and sentiments are touched with a delicate hand, and throughout the work he seems to feel as much delight in describing the amiable part of human nature, as in early days he had in exaggerating the strong and harsh features of turpitude and deformity.

formity. This circumstance breathes an air of philanthropy through his work.

Thus have we traced our author in his progress, to the time when the vigour of his mind was in its full growth of perfection; from this period it sunk, but by slow degrees, into a decline. *Amelia*, which succeeded *Tom Jones*, in about four years, has indeed the marks of genius, but of a genius beginning to fall into its decay. *Amelia* is the *Odyssey*, the moral, and pathetic work of Henry Fielding.

While he was planning and executing this piece, it should be remembered, that he was distracted by that multiplicity of avocations which surround a public magistrate; and his constitution, now greatly impaired and enfeebled, was labouring under the attacks of the gout, which were of course severer than ever. However, the activity of his mind was not to be subdued: one literary pursuit was no sooner over than fresh game arose. A periodical paper, under the title of *The Covent Garden Journal*, by Sir Alexander Drawcansir, knight, and Censor-general of Great-Britain, was immediately set on foot. It was published twice in every week, viz. on Tuesday and Saturday, and conducted so much to the entertainment of the public, that it was felt with a general regret, that the author's health did not enable him to persist in the undertaking any longer.

Soon after this work was dropped, by the advice of physicians Mr. Fielding set out for Lisbon.

Lisbon. The last gleams of his wit and humour sparkled in the account he left behind him of his Voyage to that place. In this his last sketch, he puts us in mind of a person, under sentence of death, jesting on the scaffold; for his strength was now quite exhausted; and, in about two months after his arrival at Lisbon, he yielded his last breath, in the year 1754, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He left behind him (for he married a second time) a wife and four children, three of which are still living, and are now training up, in a handsome course of education, under the care of their uncle, with the aid of a very generous donation, given annually by Ralph Allen, esq. for that purpose. An instance of humanity, which the reader did not want to learn of him, whose life is a constant effusion of munificence; but for the sake of a writer, whose works have afforded such exquisite entertainment, he will be glad to know, that the generous patron of the father, is now the tender guardian of his orphans.

Thus was closed a course of disappointment, distress, vexation, infirmity, and study; for with each of these his life was variously chequered; and, perhaps, in stronger proportions than has been the lot of many.

We have seen how Mr. Fielding very soon squandered away his small patrimony, which, with œconomy, might have procured him independence; we have seen how far he ruined,
into

into the bargain, a constitution which, in its original texture, seemed formed to last much longer. When indigence and illness were once let in upon him, he no longer remained master of his own actions, and that once delicacy of conduct, which alone constitutes and preserves a character, was obliged to give way.

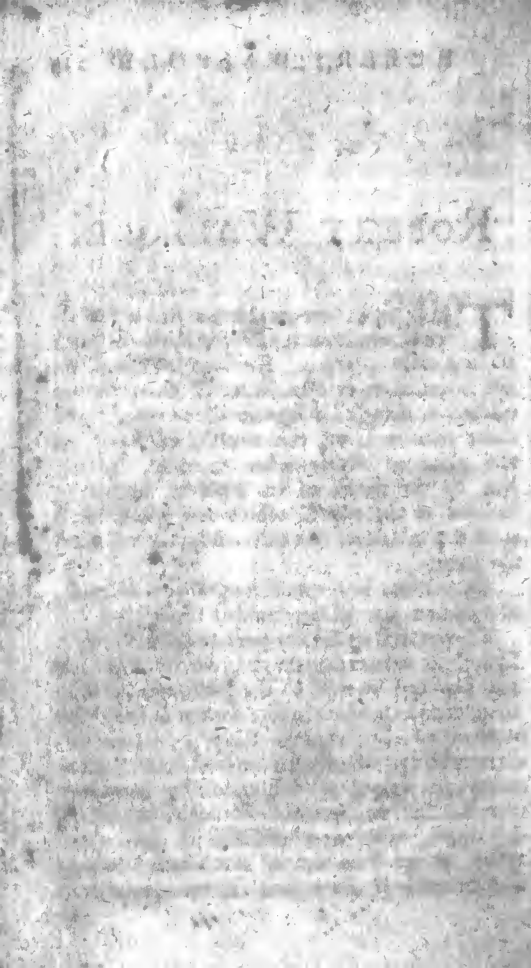
When he was not under the immediate urgency of want, they who were intimate with him, are ready to aver, that he had a mind greatly superior to any thing mean or little; when his finances were exhausted, he was not the most elegant in his choice of the means to redress himself; and he would instantly exhibit a farce, or a puppet-show, in the Hay-market theatre; which was wholly inconsistent with the profession he had embarked in. But his intimates can witness how much his pride suffered when he was forced into measures of this kind; no man having a juster sense of propriety, or more honourable ideas of the employment of an author and a scholar.

Henry Fielding was in stature rather rising above six feet; his frame of body large, and remarkably robust, till the gout had broke the vigour of his constitution.



Aveline sculp.

S^r Rob. Walpole



THE LIFE OF

ROBERT WALPOLE.

THE right honourable Sir Robert Walpole was born at Houghton, on the sixth of September, 1674. He was educated on the foundation at Eton school; from thence elected to King's College in Cambridge; and there admitted, on the twelfth of April, in the place of Horsmonden Cannon, 1681; but, by the death of his brother, becoming intitled to the estate, which was inconsistent with the tenure of his fellowship, he resigned the same.

He rebuilt, in the most magnificent manner, the antient seat of his family, Houghton.

He was first elected to parliament, at King's Lynn, in the year 1700, and was returned for that borough in most of the parliaments while he continued a commoner, except during the interval of one sessions, in 1711; when his extraordinary weight and interest in the commons, in opposing the pernicious measures then carried on, rendered it highly necessary for those, who were resolved to gain their point, to get him out of the house; which was accordingly done, and he was committed

to the Tower, where he continued during the remainder of that sessions. However, he was chosen again for the same place, even during his confinement; and none of the threats which were sent down could either deter, or have the least influence, upon that steady corporation, or cause them to swerve from the fixed opinion they had long entertained of his eminent services and strict adherence to the interests of his country.

In June, 1705, he was nominated, among others, to be one of the council to his royal highness prince George of Denmark, lord-high-admiral of England, in the affairs of the Admiralty.

In 1707, he was constituted secretary of war; and treasurer of the Navy, in January, 1709.

Upon Dr. Sacheverel's impeachment he was chosen one of the managers of the House of Commons to make good the articles against him; and the managers had the thanks of the House of Commons for their services.

On the change of the ministry, which happened in August, 1710, he was removed from all his posts, and held no place afterwards during the remaining part of the queen's reign.

But his known abilities, and his remarkable zeal for the succession of the house of Hanover, which he had so warmly and successfully asserted, brought him into the service of his country again, soon after king George

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the First's accession to the throne; and accordingly he was made paymaster to the guards and garrisons at home, and to the forces abroad, September 23, 1714, five days after the king's landing. And a new privy council being appointed to meet on the first of October, 1715, he was sworn thereof, and took his place accordingly. On the tenth day of the same month he was constituted first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and the same year chosen chairman to the committee of secrecy, appointed by the house of Commons, to enquire into the conduct of those evil ministers, That brought a reproach on the nation, by the unsuitable conclusion of a war, which was carried on at so vast an expence; and attended with such unparalleled successes.

On the tenth of April, 1717, he voluntarily resigned both his high posts, of first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

On the fourth of June, 1720, he was once more made paymaster general of all his majesty's forces; and, on the fourth of May, first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. His majesty declaring to his parliament, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1723, that some extraordinary affairs required his presence abroad for the summer, he was pleased to nominate him one of the lords justices for the administration of the government; and he was, by his majesty's command, sworn

sole secretary of state, during the absence of the lord viscount Townshend, and the lord Carteret, who accompanied the king to Hanover.

His majesty conferred the dignity of knighthood of the most honourable order of the Bath, upon him, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1725, at the time when his royal highness prince William (now duke of Cumberland) and several lords and persons of distinction, were invested with the ensigns of that order. And on the seventh of June, the same year, he declared him one of the lords justices, for the administration of affairs, during his continuance at Hanover.

On the 26th of May, 1726, he was elected knight companion of the most noble order of the Garter (with his grace the duke of Richmond) and installed at Windsor on the sixteenth of June following. He resigned the red ribband of the order of the Bath, in a chapter held the sixth of June, 1728.

Sir Robert Walpole married Catherine, daughter of John Shorter, esq; (and of Elizabeth his wife, daughter of sir Erasmus Philips, of Picton-castle in Pembrokeshire, bart.) by whom he had three sons, viz. Robert, Edward, and Horatio. His only daughter, Mary, married to the lord viscount Malpas, son and heir apparent to the right honourable George earl of Cholmondeley, died of a consumption in France, in 1731-2; but her corpse was brought over, and interred at Houghton.

By

By letters patent, bearing date the first of June, 1723, Robert, his eldest son, and heir apparent, was created a peer of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title, of Baron Walpole of Walpole in the county of Norfolk.

The reasons which induced his majesty king George I. to confer this dignity, are thus set forth in the preamble to his patent, viz.

FORASMUCH as our right-trusty and well-beloved counsellor Robert Walpole, one of the lords commissioners of our treasury, and chancellor of our exchequer, has recommended himself to us, our family, and his country, by his great merits and extraordinary endowments, we deemed it a duty incumbent upon us to call him up to the rank of Peerage.

But as he was more ambitious of meriting honours, than acquiring them; that his family might, at least, be ennobled, we have resolved to confer those honours on the son, which were his father's due; and to rank Robert Walpole the younger among our nobility. From which gentleman, whatever is great, or glorious, may reasonably be expected. He has long since shewn a very ripe genius to literature, and the sciences, and now resolves to bring whatever is worthy his notice from foreign countries.

And as he has one at home, who will be his instructor in whatever may have escaped his observation abroad, we make no doubt,

but, by the assistance of so able a guide, he will deliver the dignity, derived from his father's merits, enlarged to his posterity.

It is moreover our pleasure, that a youth of such extraordinary hopes, should take his titles from the place, whence the antient family of Walpole derived their name which family hath flourished, in the county of Norfolk, ever since the reign of Edward I. where it has been always held and esteemed among those of the chiefest note.

The arms of Walpale, are,

I. Or, on a Fess, between two Chevrons Sable; three Cross-Crosets of the First.

II. Crest. On a Wreath, the Bust of a Man fide-faced, couped Proper; with a long cap, Gules, thereon a Catherine-Wheel.

This crest belonged to the family of Robsart, and was given in honour of the memory of Sir John Robsart, Knight of the Garter, for his eminent services against the Saracens.

III. Supporters. On the Dexter-Side, an Antelope, and on the Sinister, a Buck, both Argent, attired Proper, gorged with Collars; Checkie, Or, and Azure, each having a chain thereto affixed; their Hoofs gold.

IV. Motto. Fari quæ sentiat.

His lordship, soon after his return to England, married Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Samuel Rolle, of Heanton, in the county

county of Devon, esq; on Thursday the 27th of March, 1724.

Sir Robert had too many places of honour and profit under the government, to escape the censure and calumny of the ambitious, fordid, or envious people about the court; no wonder, then, that he fell into disgrace, and was accused of bribery, &c. But, to set this matter in a clear light, it will be necessary to consider the resolution which the house of Commons came to, and the crimes that Mr. Walpole is thereby charged with. The resolution was :

THAT Robert Walpole, esq; (a member of this house) in receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and in taking a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of her majesty's troops quartered in North-Britain, made by him when secretary at war, pursuant to a power granted him by the late lord treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption.

The crimes, then, are, a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption; crimes, indeed, of a very heinous nature, and either of them, we shall always think, sufficient to subject any member to the just resentment and censure of parliament; but, at the same time, we cannot be of opinion, that any man ought

to suffer for being barely charged with a crime, unless it be proved upon him, either by positive evidence, or by such circumstances as make the presumption full and clear against him; much less can we consent to censure or punish any man, when most circumstances concur in his justification, where the presumption is stronger in his favour than to his prejudice; and especially where there is positive evidence upon oath to acquit, and not any direct evidence to convict; which seems to have been Mr. Walpole's case.

As to the first article, of the breach of trust, we must observe, that, after Mr. Walpole had been heard in his place, and was withdrawn, there was not one member in the house that did in the least insist on that head; all that spoke were either silent upon it, or did even admit, that he had cleared himself of all imputation upon that score; so that, indeed, we can no ways account how that came to be part of the censure; but that being made part of the pocket-question, agreed upon the night before, not one word of it was to be altered, let the evidence upon hearing be what it would.

To remove all suspicion of Mr. Walpole's having any prospect of advantage to himself, or any body else, in making the contract, he proved, first, That it was not in his power, as not being the only person employed or intrusted by the government to make the contracts. And, second, That the contracts were made
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upon the lowest and most advantageous terms that could possibly be had for the government.

Upon the march of the English dragoons into Scotland, which, by the laws of Scotland, could not be quartered in that part of the kingdom, according to the method prescribed by the laws of England, the duke of Queensberry, the earls of Mar, Loudon, and Seafield, and other Scots lords, that were of the queen's most honourable privy council, were ordered to meet and consider of the most proper methods of providing forage for the troops in North Britain; who summoned to their assistance all the Scots officers of dragoons that were then in London, and did give their opinions to her majesty, that the most proper and practicable method of providing forage, was to make contracts with commissaries of forage, as has been usually practised in Scotland; and recommended sir Samuel Maclellan, lord provost of Edinburgh, who had frequently been employed in this service before the Union, as a proper person to be treated with.

The proposals of sir Samuel Maclellan were referred to lieutenant-general Erle, Mr. Howe, paymaster-general to her majesty's forces, and Mr. Walpole; who, at several meetings, did likewise consult all the Scots officers: and the prices of nine-pence, and three-pence half-penny, for dry and green forage, for each twenty-four hours, were judged reasonable, from the best information that could be had,

and agreed to accordingly, by Mr. Erle, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Walpole, who were jointly and equally concerned, with Mr. Walpole, in settling and agreeing the prices, although the contract was afterwards prepared and executed by him, by virtue of his office as secretary at war. And this Mr. Erle did declare in the house of Commons, at the time when the matter was under consideration.

As the making the contract, and agreeing the prices and conditions, was not left solely to Mr. Walpole, so he proved, beyond contradiction, that the bargain was, upon all accounts, made upon as advantageous terms for the public as possibly could be had; and this was made to appear, by comparing the contract with all former contracts made before the union; with the prices that the English dragoons had been obliged to pay from the time they marched into Scotland to the making of the contract; and with the prices which the Scotch dragoons had paid that very year before a provision had been made for them by contract.

But a contract having afterwards been made at lower rates, an inference was drawn from thence of the unreasonableness of the contract; but, if this contract was justifiable, compared with all former contracts, and the circumstances and prices which governed at that time, it is very unjust to make any imputation from the plenty or scarcity, dearneſs or cheapneſs, of forage that might afterwards happen. Besides,
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the new contract that was made upon lower terms proved destructive of the service, as appeared by a Memorial signed by the colonels and commanding officers ; which was presented at the War-office, setting forth,

That, upon account of the forage which was contracted for at such low rates, the country cannot afford to bring it to quarters, nor to give good in its kind ; and that the contractor has not any magazines as he ought to have for the necessary supply of the troops ; for want whereof the troops are so dispersed, and separated at such distances, that they are rendered utterly incapable of any service, and the officers can no ways be answerable for their good order and discipline.

By what has been said, it appears, that all possible care and precaution was used to obtain the most advantageous terms that could be had for the government ; and that the forage could not be supplied at lower rates consistent with the service ; which leaves no room to suspect that the contract was made with any view or prospect of a private advantage to Mr. Walpole, or any other person ; and seems sufficiently to clear Mr. Walpole from the first part of the charge, wherein he is said to be guilty of a high breach of trust.

We come now to the second article, wherein Mr. Walpole is charged with notorious corruption.

A censure of this nature ought to be grounded upon evidence, where the notoriety of the fact makes the truth unquestionable; and not upon suspicion, which cannot, in any justice, be thought sufficient to call a crime notorious; and, that there was nothing but a bare suspicion in this case, may truly be affirmed, because we think the charge itself amounts to no more before it comes to be controverted; but, when positive and express evidence upon oath is brought in opposition to a bare presumption, with what justice can a crime be called notorious? But, if what was offered in this case had been only in mitigation of the crime, we should not have thought the proceedings so very extraordinary: but, as the evidence that was given, in our judgment, acquitted Mr. Walpole, we will endeavour to give our readers the same satisfaction that was given us, by considering and stating, as far as we are able to recollect it, the evidence as it stood on both sides.

The ground of the charge is contained in Mr. Montgomery's deposition, the chief part of the defence in the deposition of Mr. Mann, and the narrative of colonel Douglas. The two first were sworn before the commissioners of public accounts, and the narrative is the substance of the evidence which colonel Douglas gave in his place, as a member of parliament; which, for Mr. Walpole's further justification, he reduced into writing and signed.

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Here likewise we must beg leave to observe, that neither the deposition of Mr. Mann, nor the narrative of colonel Douglas, do any ways contradict the deposition of Mr. Montgomery, but only explain the facts and assertions, which are not in themselves a direct charge, but seem conceived in general and obscure terms, on purpose to leave room for those inferences that were drawn from them.

The fact charged is, Mr. Walpole's receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and taking a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage made by him, &c.

The evidence to support this is, that part of Mr. Montgomery's deposition which says,

“ This deponent gave Mr. Walpole a bill, or note, payable to himself, or order, and delivered it into his hands; and, that he paid the said sum to Mr. Mann, who delivered the note to this deponent with Mr. Walpole's receipt on the back of it.”

The like for the second year. The question will then be, Upon what account were these notes given to Mr. Walpole? and, Whether the money was received by him, for him, or for whose use?

Mr. Montgomery, the informer, swears, That Sir Samuel Maclellan, who made the first contract with Mr. Walpole, told him, when he was at London, and soon after upon his

death bed at Edinburgh did declare the same, That a friend of Mr. Walpole's was to be a sharer in the contract.

Colonel Douglas, who was equally concerned, declares, that Sir Samuel told him, That, among others, he had admitted a gentleman in London, recommended to him by Mr. Walpole, for a share; and, that he always understood, that a sharer was to bear equal risque with the rest in case any loss should be.

And Mr. Mann swears, That, by an agreement between him and Sir Samuel Maclellan, he was to be a sharer in this undertaking, at equal profit or loss, as should happen or arise in performing the contract, together with such other partners as should be taken into the contract by Sir Samuel Maclellan, upon his arrival in Scotland-

So that all evidence agrees, A third person, a friend of Mr. Walpole's, or recommended by him, was to be concerned; and Mr. Mann swears positively himself to be this third person.

The next step is, Mr. Montgomery swears, That John Campbel and colonel Douglas directed him to pay five hundred guineas to Mr. Walpole. What says colonel Douglas to this? That, Sir Samuel Maclellan being dead, and he not knowing the person, nor at that time remembering his name, judged it most proper to have the money made payable to Mr. Walpole, or order, for the use of his friend; and that

that, upon hearing the name of Mr. Mann, he recollects that to be the name of the gentleman that Sir Samuel Maclellan named, as the person recommended to be a sharer in the contract.

This surely explains why the notes were made payable to Mr. Walpole, and delivered to him; and is a further proof, that Mr. Mann was, from the beginning, the person concerned in the contract, and for whom the share was reserved by Sir Samuel Maclellan.

Mr. Montgomery likewise swears, He paid the said sum to Mr. Mann, who delivered him the note with Mr. Walpole's receipt on the back of it. This Mr. Mann admits to be true, and at the same time declares, That he received the money due by the said note from Montgomery, at several times, for which he gave his own receipts; and, in his own name, at the several times of payment: which receipts, at the payment of the last sum, were cancelled, and a discharge, or receipt in full, was written upon the back of Mr. Montgomery's note, over Mr. Walpole's name, that was before only a blank endorsement, which was done upon closing the account between Mr. Montgomery and the deponent, as is usual upon the like occasions.

And here it is to be observed, that this note remained all this time in Mr. Mann's hands, until it was taken up and cancelled, together with the several receipts at the payment of the
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last sum. And, in the same affidavit, Mr. Mann further deposes, That the several sums of money received by him from the said Mr. Montgomery, upon the two notes of five hundred guineas and five hundred pounds, were received by him for his own sole use and benefit, and that he has not paid the said sums, nor any part thereof, nor accounted for them, nor is under any obligation or agreement to pay or account for the same, or any part of them, to any person whatsoever; but, that the same does, and is, to remain to his own sole benefit or advantage.

Besides the positive evidence upon oath, the concurring circumstances render even the presumption stronger in Mr. Walpole's favour than to his prejudice. The first contract was made in May, 1709, to determine in May, 1710; but the first note was not given till the twenty ninth of June, 1710; which was above a twelvemonth after the contract was made. It is therefore more reasonable to suppose, that this was given as a consideration to influence Mr. Walpole, in making a contract, which was executed a year before, and was then expired; or, that it was a proportion of profit, due to Mr. Mann, as a sharer, for which the other contractors did not account to him, until they saw, at the year's end, the neat profit upon the whole, and could thereby determine what his share amounted to? But may it not be presumed, that Mr. Mann's name was only made use of, and that this
share

share was in truth reserved for Mr. Walpole. You have already heard what Mr. Mann's oath says in answer to that. But consider it, by way of argument; Mr. Walpole is supposed, in this way of arguing, to have had caution enough, not to let his own name be made use of for his share, in making a contract with Sir Samuel Maclellan, to have substituted Mr. Mann to meet Sir Samuel at a tavern, and personate him through the whole progress of this affair, where any conversation or discourse was had about it, and not to trust any of the contractors with the secret of his being concerned; (for that Mr. Montgomery did not pretend to say, that ever he had heard or believed; and colonel Douglas declared quite the contrary) and at last, after all this great care and caution, takes the note payable to himself and endorses it.

Is it reasonable to believe, that so much care and caution should be used all along, and at last be forgot, just when it became so necessary? Is it probable there should be so much management, where there was least danger; and, that Mr. Walpole should be so weak, as to give his own hand in evidence against himself, if he had been really concerned? Had it not been as easy to have had the notes made payable to Mr. Mann? or, could that have been forgot, if there had been any art or collusion that was before covered or disguised under his name? For our parts, we think, the notes being made payable to Mr. Walpole, rather

ther argues an innocence than a guilt, because nothing is so common and obvious, as to use a third name, where any sinister end is to be concealed.

What has hitherto been said, relates chiefly to the first note only, but is applicable in general to the whole transaction; but there being some difference in the circumstances between the notes, we must beg the reader's patience for an observation or two that chiefly concern the second note.

It is said, that, admitting all which Mr. Walpole alledges in relation to the first contract to be true, and that there is no blame to be imputed to him on that account, how came Mr. Walpole to make a second contract, upon the same terms, when he knew there was such a profit upon the first?

In answer to this, we appeal to the proceedings of the House of Commons, printed by their order; where, by the dates, you will find that the second contract was made for supplying forage from May, 1709, to the fourteenth of May, 1710; which being then determined, the second contract for forage, from the fifteenth of May, 1710, to the fifteenth of May, 1711, was made before the note was given, which was on the twenty-ninth of June, in the year 1710; and, in consequence, Mr. Walpole, at making the second contract, had no knowledge of the profit that arose from the first.

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A great stress is laid upon Mr. Walpole's having endorsed the first note, which is called a giving his receipt for the money; but the second note, it seems, was never endorsed at all; and yet there had been above four hundred pounds paid upon it, for which receipts were given by Mr. Mann, or for his use, upon distinct papers, and not entered upon the note, nor any mention made of Mr. Walpole, to whom the note was made payable, and without whose order, or endorsement, there could be no discharge for the money.

What stronger presumption can there be, than, that Mr. Montgomery, at the time of paying this money, was satisfied that Mr. Mann had a right to the money, whose discharge he took for so great a sum, without any mention made of, or relation had to, the note, upon which it was due? So that, to read this note, and the receipts which were given for the money, as they are printed by order of the House of Commons, is almost alone sufficient evidence, to convince any man, that this money was paid for the use and benefit of Mr. Mann; and, that Montgomery, without being satisfied it was so, would hardly have paid such a sum of money, for which he had still been accountable.

I remember there was an objection made to something that dropped from Mr. Montgomery at the bar of the House, as if the five hundred pounds received by Mr. Mann, was more
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than a just share, arising from the profits of the contract.

In answer to this, I must observe, That the share reserved for Mr. Mann is stated by the commissioners of public accounts, to be a fifth part; and the share for Sir Alexander Murray, by the evidence of colonel Douglas, and the oath of Sir David Dalrymple, who was likewise sworn upon this account by the commissioners, to be a fourteenth part; and Sir Alexander Murray receiving, for his fourteenth part, two hundred pounds, proves the profit upon the whole to be about two thousand eight hundred pounds; which entitled the five principal partners to above five hundred pounds a-piece for their respective shares: but, having this occasion to mention the profits, it will not be improper to acquaint our readers, that each year's contract amounted to about twenty thousand pounds, that the profit upon the whole may not be thought so very exorbitant as it otherwise might appear.

We have heard of an objection raised from Mr. Mann's refusing to be a second time examined by the commissioners of public accounts; from whence a consciousness of guilt is inferred as if the cause was not able to abide a stricter examination.

In answer to this, it is first observable, That, if there be any weight in the objection, it could have no weight or influence in the House of Commons in convicting Mr. Walpole, because
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the complaint of Mr. Mann's refusal was not made to the house till after the whole proceeding was over and passed : but, if it makes any impression upon mens private opinions, it is necessary the world should know, that, when Mr. Mann went and voluntarily offered himself to be examined by the commissioners, after the deposition was made in favour of Mr. Walpole, Mr. Mann was examined and cross-examined by the commissioners upon his oath for above three hours ; from whence they formed the notable second deposition, that they thought worth presenting to the House of Commons : but, in forming this second deposition, they made themselves the sole judges of what should be inserted, and what omitted ; and thereby left out several things that were material to explain the other parts of the information.

This method of proceeding, Mr. Mann might well apprehend would tend more to ensnare him, than to set the matter in a true light ; and, by the accounts which we have heard of the methods that the commissioners took in their examinations, and reducing them afterwards into form, wherein, although they did add nothing, they took upon them to leave out as much as they pleased.

It is not therefore to be wondered at, that this gentleman was unwilling to subject himself to such methods of administering justice : but, if seven such ingenious persons were not
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able, in three hours examination, to puzzle and confound an illiterate person, enough to draw from him any thing that did in the least affect Mr. Walpole, it will be very hard to make an inference to Mr. Walpole's prejudice because Mr. Mann, who was by law not subject to their jurisdiction, as having never been concerned in any public capacity, was unwilling to be examined upon his oath, after he had given them all the information that he could, and had submitted to a three hours examination the day before.

We have been very particular in laying this affair before the reader, that he might the better be able to form a right judgment on so remarkable a transaction in the life of a man that has made no inconsiderable figure in the British administration; for, though Sir Robert himself affected to treat this matter very lightly, and has been heard to say he did not think it any blot in his escutcheon, yet it is certain, that it has always been remembered to his disadvantage in point of honour.

Notwithstanding his enemies rejoiced at his disgrace, he had so many powerful friends about the court, that his interest suffered but little; and we find him soon after prime-minister to king George II. by whom, in the year 1742, he was created earl of Orford, and had a pension of four thousand pounds per annum granted him; which he did not long enjoy; for
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he died in the month of March, 1745, after a very short illness.

His circumstances were not affluent, for he was liberal in his disposition, and had such a number of rapacious dependants to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.



THE

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE ANSON.

THE ancestors of the late right honourable George lord Anson, have been seated in Staffordshire for many generations, till William Anson, esq; of Dunstan, having purchased the manor of Shugborough in that county, in the reign of king James I. made it, from that time, his chief residence.

His lordship was the second and youngest son of William Anson, esq; of Shuckborough (who died in 1720) by Elizabeth, sister to the countess of Macclesfield, and aunt to the present earl.

Mr. Anson, having very early devoted himself to the sea service, was made captain of the Weazle sloop in 1722; and, the year following, captain of the Scarborough man of war. On the breaking out of the late Spanish war, he was recommended to his late majesty for the command of a squadron destined to annoy the enemy in the South Seas; and, by an unfrequented navigation, to attack them with vigour in their remotest settlements. A design which, had it not met with unaccountable delays, would have amply answered the intention; and might have given, perhaps,

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Lord Inson.



an irretrievable blow to the Spanish American power.

Mr. Anson sailed from St. Helens on the eighteenth of September, 1740, in the *Centurion*, of sixty guns, with the *Gloucester* and *Severn*, of fifty each, the *Pearl*, of forty, the *Wager* storeship, and *Tryal* sloop. His departure having been retarded some months beyond the proper season, he did not arrive in the latitude of Cape Horn till about the middle of the vernal equinox, and in such tempestuous weather, that it was with much difficulty that his own ship, with the *Gloucester* and the sloop, could double that dangerous cape; and his strength was considerably diminished by the putting back of the *Severn* and *Pearl*, and the loss of the *Wager* storeship. Yet, notwithstanding this disappointment, and the havock that the scurvy had made among the ships that were left, he arrived at the fertile, though uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez.

Having, at this island, repaired his damages and refreshed his men, with the above inconsiderable armament, he kept, for eight months, the whole coast of Peru and Mexico in continual alarm, made several prizes; took and plundered the town of Peyta, and, by his humane behaviour to his prisoners, impressed on their minds a lasting idea of British generosity.

At length, with the *Centurion* only (the other two ships having been condemned) he traversed the vast extent of the Pacific Ocean,
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a three months voyage; in the course of which, his numbers were so much farther reduced by sickness, that it was with the utmost difficulty he reached the island of Tinian, one of the Ladrões; a place which, from the following luxurious description these voyagers have given of it, seems truly to be a terrestrial paradise.

THIS island lies in the latitude of 15. 8. North, and longitude from Acapulco 114. 50. W. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E.

The soil is every where dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which being less disposed than other soils to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation, occasions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rises, by an easy slope, from the very beach where we watered to the middle of the island; though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted and traversed by gentle descents and vallies; and the inequalities that are formed by the different combinations of these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified by large lawns, which are covered with a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them celebrated, either for their aspect or their fruits.

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The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods, in many places, clear of all bushes and underwoods; and the woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken, nor confused with straggling trees, but appearing as uniform as if laid out by art. Hence arose a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the mixture of these woods and lawns, and their various intersections with each other, as they spread themselves differently through the vallies, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds.

The fortunate animals too, which, for the greatest part of the year, are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake, in some measure, of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery: for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black; and, though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the beauty and cheerfulness of the place.

The cattle on the island we computed were at least ten thousand; and we had no difficulty

in getting near them, as they were not shy of us. Our first method of killing them was shooting them; but, at last, when, by accidents, we were obliged to husband our ammunition, our men ran them down with ease. Their flesh was extremely well tasted, and was believed by us to be much more easily digested than any we had ever met with.

The fowls too were exceeding good, and were likewise run down with little trouble; for they could scarce fly further than an hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them so much, that they could not readily rise again; so that, aided by the openness of the woods, we could at all times furnish ourselves with whatever number we wanted.

Besides the cattle and poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs. These were most excellent food; but, as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to shoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to a detachment that was then upon the island, amassing provisions for the garrison of Guam.

As these dogs had been purposely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us: but, tho' they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with so much fury, that they frequently destroyed them; so that we, by degrees, lost the greatest part of them.

But

But this place was not only extremely grateful to us from the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, but was as much, perhaps, to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions, which were most fortunately adapted to the cure of the sea-scurvy, which had so terribly reduced us; for in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree. There were, besides, guavaes, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the Indians Rima, but by us the Bread-Fruit; for it was constantly eaten by us during our stay upon the island instead of bread; and so universally preferred to it, that no ship's bread was expended during that whole interval.

It grew upon a tree which was somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itself grows indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in shape rather elliptical than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly and not in clusters.

This fruit is fittest to be used when it is full grown, but is still green; in which state its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke-bottom, and its texture is not very

different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it grows softer and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luscious taste, and an agreeable smell, not unlike that of a ripe peach; but then it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes:

Besides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under; such as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purslain, mint, scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all which, together with the fresh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerness, prompted thereto by the strong inclination which nature never fails of exciting in scorbutic disorders for these powerful specifics.

It will easily be conceived, from what already hath been said, that our cheer upon this island was in some degree luxurious, but I have not yet recited all the varieties of provision which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abstain from fish, the few we caught at our first arrival having surfeited those who eat of them; but, considering how much we had been inured to that species of food, we did not regard this circumstance as a disadvantage, especially as the defect was so amply supplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great quantity of wild fowl; for I must observe, that near the centre of the island there were

were two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew; not to mention the whistling-plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

And now, perhaps, it may be wondered at, that an island, so excellently furnished with the conveniencies of life, and so well adapted, not only to the subsistence, but likewise to the enjoyment of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants, especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other islands, which, in some measure, depend upon this for support.

To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the island was depopulated. The Indians we had in our custody assured us, that formerly the three islands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and, that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls; but a sickness raging amongst these islands, which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were greatly diminished by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where, languishing for their former habitations, and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them, in a few years, died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever shown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it should seem, from what has been already said, that there were few

countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

These poor Indians might reasonably have expected, at the great distance from Spain where they are placed, to have escaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, so fatal to a large proportion of the human race : but it seems their remote situation could not protect them from sharing in the common destruction of the western world, all the advantage they received from their distance being only to perish an age or two later.

It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were banished to Guam, and who died there pining for their native home, was so great as what we have related above ; but, not to mention the concurrent assertion of our prisoners, and the commodiousness of the island, and its great fertility, there are still remains to be met with on the place, which evince it to have been once extremely populous : for there are, in all parts of the island, a great number of ruins of a very particular kind. They usually consist of two rows of square pyramidal pillars, each pillar being about six feet from the next, and the distance between the rows being about twelve feet ; the pillars themselves are about five feet square at the base, and about thirteen feet high ; and, on the top of each of them, there is a semi-globe, with the flat part upwards ; the whole of the pillars and the semi-globe

globe is solid, being composed of sand and stone cemented together and plaistered over.

If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the island indeed must have been extremely populous; for they assured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those Indians only who had engaged in some religious vow; and monastic institutions are often to be met with in many pagan nations. However, if these ruins were originally the basis of the common dwelling-houses of the natives, their numbers must have been considerable: for, in many parts of the island, they are extremely thick planted, and sufficiently evince the great plenty of former inhabitants. But, to return to the present state of the island,

Having mentioned the conveniencies of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and provisions, the neatness of its lawns, the stateliness, freshness, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded, I must now observe, that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent showers which fall, and which, though of a very short and almost momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreshing, and are, perhaps, one cause of the salubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was ob-

served to have upon us, in increasing and invigorating our appetites and digestion. This was so remarkable, that those among our officers, who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, who, besides a slight breakfast, made but one moderate repast a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons ; for, instead of one reasonable flesh-meal, they were now scarce satisfied with three, and each of them so prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a surfeit : and yet our digestion so well corresponded with the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered or even loaded by this repletion ; for, after having, according to the custom of the island, made a large beef-breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable though somewhat tardy incident.

And now, having been thus large in my encomiums on this island, in which, however, I conceive I have not done it justice, it is necessary I should speak of those circumstances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility.

And, first, with respect to its water. I must own, that, before I had seen this spot, I did not conceive that the absence of running-water, of which it is entirely destitute, could have been so well replaced by any other means, as it is in this island ; for, though there are no streams, yet the water of the wells and springs
which

which are to be met with every where near the surface, is extremely good; and, in the midst of the island, there are two or three considerable pieces of excellent water, whose edges are as neat and even, as if they had been basons purposely made for the decoration of the place. It must, however, be confessed, that, with regard to the beauty of the prospects, the want of rills and streams is a very great defect, not to be compensated either by large pieces of standing-water, or by the neighbourhood of the sea; though that, by reason of the smallness of the island, generally makes a part of a very extensive view.

As to the residence upon the island, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vast number of muscitos, and various other species of flies, together with an insect called a tick, which, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently fasten upon our limbs and bodies, and, if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the skin and raise a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes and scorpions, which we supposed were venomous, but none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the most important and formidable exception to this place remains still to be told. This is, the inconvenience of the road, and the little security there is, at some seasons, for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place for ships of burthen is at the south west end of the island.

In this place the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty two fathom water, opposite to a sandy bay, and about a mile and an half distant from the shore. The bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, renders it a very unsafe place to lie at. This is the season of the western monsoons, when, near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass, and seldom fails to blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables are not to be confided in; and, what adds to the danger at these times, is, the excessive repidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the south-east, between this island and that of Aguiguan, a small island near the southern extremity of Tinian.

This tide runs, at first, with a vast head and overfall of water, and occasions such a hollow and over-grown sea, as is scarcely to be conceived; so that we were under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it, though we were in a sixty gun ship.

In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a constant season of settled weather when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being so much as rubbed; so that, during all that interval, it is as secure a road as could be wished for.

I shall

I shall only add, that the anchoring-bank is very shelving, and stretches along the south-west end of the island: and, that it is entirely free from shoals, except a reef of rocks which is visible, and lies about half a mile from the shore, and affords a narrow passage into a small sandy bay, which is the only place where boats can possibly land.

After thus long detaining our reader with this agreeable digression, we will return with him to our subject.

But here the commodore, and most of his people, were in great danger of being left for ever, or of being imprisoned or massacred by the neighbouring Spaniards; the Centurion being driven from her anchors, one night, in a violent storm, and, after nineteen days absence, being brought back with difficulty, by the few hands that were left on board.

Mr. Anson arrived at Macao, in China, in 1742, where having completely refitted his ship (as was generally supposed, for an European voyage), he steered back as far as the Philippin islands, with a view of meeting the Acapulco ship; a plan as wisely laid as it was wisely conducted. After much beating about and uncertainty, he at length got sight of the ship of which he had been in search, and soon after came up with and took her. This crowned his voyage, and greatly enriched himself.

himself and his crew. With a handful of men and boys (of which two only were killed) he made this vast acquisition, and took three times his own number of prisoners.

He returned with his prize to China, where he obtained, with ease, at an audience of the viceroy of Canton, an exemption from the emperor's usual duties, thus supporting the honour of his majesty's flag in those far distant regions.

On his arrival in England (by the Cape of Good Hope) after near four years absence, in June 1744, he found that the hand of Providence seemed still to protect him, having sailed, in a fog, through the midst of a French fleet, then cruising in the Channel. In short, through the whole of this remarkable voyage, he experienced the truth of that saying of Teucer, which he afterwards chose for his motto, "*Nil est desperandum.*"

Soon after his return he was appointed rear admiral of the Blue, and one of the lords of the admiralty. In April 1745 he was made rear admiral of the white; and, in July, 1746, vice admiral of the Blue. He was also chosen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkshire. That winter he commanded the Channel squadron, and had not duke d'Anville's fleet, returning with disgrace from North America, been accidentally apprized of his station, his long and tempestuous cruize would then have been attended with his usual success. However, in the ensuing summer, he

was

was once more crowned with wealth and conquest. Being then on board the Prince George, of ninety guns, in company with admiral Warren, and twelve ships more, he intercepted, off Cape Finisterre, on the third of May, 1747, a powerful fleet, bound from France to the East and West Indies; and, by his valour and conduct, again enriched himself and officers, and strengthened the British navy, by taking six men of war, and four East indiamen, not one of that fleet escaping. The speech of the French admiral, M. Jonquiere, on presenting his sword to the conqueror, deserves to be recorded: "Monfieur, vous avez vaincu l'Invincible, et la Gloire vous suit," pointing to the two ships so named.

For these repeated services, the late king rewarded him with a peerage, on the thirteenth of June, by the title of lord Anson, baron of Soberton in Hants. On the fifteenth of July, in the same year, he was appointed vice admiral of the red; and, on the death of sir John Norris, he was made vice admiral of England.

In April, 1748, his lordship married the honourable Miss Yorke (eldest daughter of the present earl of Hardwicke, then lord high chancellor) who died in 1760, without issue.

In May, 1748, he was appointed admiral of the Blue; in which year he commanded the squadron that convoyed the late king to and from Holland, and ever after constantly attended

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attended his majesty on his going abroad, and on his return to England.

In June, 1751, his lordship was appointed first lord of the admiralty, in which post he continued (with a very short intermission) till his death.

In 1752 he was appointed one of the lords justices, as he also was in 1754. That year, on the rupture with France, so active and spirited were his measures, that a fleet, superior to the enemy, was equipped and manned with amazing expedition.

In 1758, being then admiral of the White, having hoisted his flag on board the Royal George, of one hundred guns, he sailed from Spithead on the first of June, with a formidable fleet, sir Edward Hawke commanding under him, and, by cruizing continually before Brest; he covered the descents that were made that summer at St. Maloes, Cherbourg, &c. After this, he was appointed admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleets.

The last service his lordship performed at sea was the convoying to England our present queen; for which purpose he sailed from Harwich in the Charlotte yatcht, on the seventh of August, 1761; and that day month, after a long and tempestuous voyage, landed the princess at the same place.

At length, having been some time in a languishing state of health, he was advised to the Bath waters, from which he was thought to

have received benefit ; but, soon after his return, being seized suddenly, just after walking in his garden, he died at his seat at Moor-Park, in Hertfordshire, on the sixth of June, 1762.

By his lordship's will, great part of his fortune devolved to his sister's son, George Adams, esq. member for Saltash, in Cornwall.

His elder brother, Thomas Anson, esq. is member in the present parliament for Litchfield.

Among the many services that will immortalize the name of Anson, his discreet and fortunate choice of officers is none of the least, as will be allowed by all who remember that the late captain Saumarez, (who was killed in 1747, being then captain of the Nottingham) and the present Sir Charles Saunders, Sir Piercy Brett, commodore Keppel, captain Dennis, &c. were his lieutenants in the Centurion.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE BERKELY.

GEORGE BERKELY was the son of a clergyman in Ireland, of a small living, but at the same time remarkable for his learning and piety, he therefore gave his son the best education his circumstances would admit of; the languages, ancient and modern, he taught him himself, at home; and, when fitted for the university, taxed his little fortune, in order to send him to Trinity college, Dublin.

Here he soon began to be looked upon, as the greatest genius, or the greatest dunce, in the whole university; those who were but slightly acquainted with him, took him for a fool; but those who shared his most intimate friendship, looked upon him as a prodigy of learning and good nature. Whenever he appeared abroad from his studies, which was but seldom, he was surrounded by a crowd of the idle or the facetious, who followed him, not to be improved, but to laugh. Of this he frequently complained, but there was no redress; the more he fretted, he became only the more ridiculous.



George Berkeley
Bishop of Cloyne



An action of his, however, soon made him more truly ridiculous than before; curiosity leading him one day, in the crowd, to go to see an execution, he returned home pensive and melancholy, and could not forbear reflecting on what he had seen. He desired to know what were the pains and symptoms a malefactor felt upon such an occasion, and communicated to his chum the cause of his strange curiosity; in short, he resolved to tuck himself up for a trial, at the same time desiring his companion to take him down at a signal agreed upon.

The companion (whose name was Contarine) was to try the same experiment himself immediately after. Berkely was, accordingly, tied up to the cieling, and the chair taken from under his feet; but soon losing the use of his senses, his companion, it seems, waited a little too long for the signal agreed upon, and our enquirer had like to have been hanged in good earnest; for as soon as he was taken down, he fell, senseless and motionless, upon the floor. After some trouble, however, he was brought to himself; and observing his band, "Bless my heart, Contarine," says he, "you have quite rumpled my band." When it came to Contarine's turn to go up, he quickly evaded the proposal; the other's danger had quite abated his curiosity.

Still, however, Berkely proceeded in his studies with unabated ardour; a fellowship in
that

that college is attained by superior learning only; the candidates are examined in the most public manner, in an amphitheatre erected for that purpose, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry of the city are present upon the occasion. This examination he passed with the utmost applause, and was made a fellow, the only reward of learning that kingdom has to bestow.

Metaphysical studies are generally the amusement of the indolent and the inquisitive; his business, as a fellow, allowed him sufficient leisure, and his genius prompted him to scrutinize into every abstruse subject. He soon, therefore, was regarded as one of the best metaphysicians in Europe, his logic was looked upon rather as the work of a man skilled in metaphysics, than in the dialectic of the schools; his treatise upon matter was also thought to be the most ingenious paradox that ever amused learned leisure, and many were the answers it procured amongst all the literati of Europe.

In this he denies the non-existence of matter, both from our being incapable of having any idea of the substratum of sensible qualities, which are every moment presented to our senses, or our imaginations, and from the contradictions that the allowing of matter will produce in our reasonings upon the Deity. We can't omit a jest upon this occasion; walking one day in one of the squares, and intent upon something else, he ran his nose against a post.

post, which stunned him for some time; "Never mind it, doctor," says a sophister who was by, "there's no Matter in it."

His fame as a scholar, but more his conversation as a man of wit and good nature, soon procured him the friendship and esteem of every person of fortune and understanding; among the rest, Swift, that lover yet derider of human nature, became one of the most intimate, and it was by his recommendation that he was introduced to the earl of Peterborough, who made him his chaplain, and took him as his companion in a tour which he made thro' Europe.

The earl of Peterborough's character is well known; he was as much an hero as ever existed in romance; though short of stature, he was ever the most vigorous both in the field and in the council, and spent his fortune, which was considerable, in schemes for the honour of his own country, and to relieve the distress of others. With such a companion Berkely found every happiness; he was instructed by his experience, and refined by his conversation; and the man who before had spent the greatest part of his life with books, now was taught to be the fine gentleman, and discovered an exquisite natural taste, as well as an immense degree of erudition.

His letter to Mr. Pope, from Italy, is fine and poetical, and shews that the writer's imagination was as luxuriant as his sagacity was quick and piercing.

Some

Some time after his return he was promoted to a deanery, in which situation he wrote his *Minute Philosopher*, one of the most elegant and genteel defences of that religion which he was born to vindicate, both by his virtues and his ingenuity. It was at this time, also, that he attempted to establish an university for our American colonies, in Bermudas, one of the Summer Islands. Doctor Depusch, an excellent musician, and some others of great abilities, were engaged in this design, and actually embarked in order to put it in execution; but the ship being cast away, the design unhappily was discontinued, and Berkely left to contrive something else to the advantage of his country.

He was also deeply interested in a scheme for promoting the English language, by a society of wits and men of genius, established for that purpose, in imitation of the academies of France; in this design Swift, Bolingbroke, and others, were united; but the whole dropt by the death of queen Anne, and the discontinuance of Harley from being prime minister.

His friendships and connexions, however, did not, as was the case with Swift and some others, prevent his promotion; he was made bishop of Cloyne, and sure none ever had juster pretensions to the mitre than he. No man was more assiduous or punctual in his duty, none exacted it more strictly from his
inferior

inferior clergy, yet no bishop was ever more beloved by them. He spent his time with the utmost cheerfulness, innocence, and humanity; the meanest peasant within ten miles of his seat was familiar with him; those of them that wanted, shared his bounty, and those that did not, had his friendship and advice. The country, which was desolate and unimproved, he took the utmost pains to improve, and attempted to set an example of the proper methods of agriculture to the farmer, as he had before of piety and benevolence to the whole kingdom.

Metaphysical studies were his amusement, and the dispensations of charity he looked upon as his duty. He now examined a treatise he had long before written, entitled, "*De motui sive motus principio et natura, et de causa communicationis motuum*." In this he found much to be reprehended, and much to be added, and freely told his friends his opinion. In this, however, he shews the obscurities, and even the absurdities, into which all abstract writers upon this subject had involved themselves; that gravity, attraction, &c. are nothing but occult qualities, which, abstracted from their supposed effects, can neither be explained nor understood; nay, that sir Isaac Newton himself does not set up attraction as a quality truly and physically inherent in matter, but only as a mathematical hypothesis.

Such

Such were his opinions to the last; but the opinions of metaphysicians he, at last, began to condemn, and to doubt of the certainty, not only of every argument upon this subject, but even of the science. He therefore turned his thoughts to more beneficial studies, to politics and medicine, and gave instances in both of what he could have done, had he made either his particular study.

In politics, a pamphlet published by him, entitled, *The Querist*, is a fine instance of his skill, and was attended with some beneficial circumstances to his native country. We shall present the reader with a specimen of his abilities, by a short extract from it; as every thing wrote by him deserves the public notice.

Whether it may not concern the wisdom of the legislature, to interpose in the making of fashions; and not leave an affair of so great influence to the management of women and fops, vintners and taylors?

Whether reasonable fashions are a greater restraint on freedom, than those which are unreasonable?

Whether a general good taste in a people would not greatly conduce to their thriving? and whether an uneducated gentry are not the greatest of national evils?

Whether customs and fashions do not supply the place of reason in the vulgar of all ranks? Whether, therefore, it doth not very
much

much import, that they should be wisely framed?

Whether it would not be an unhappy turn in our gentlemen, if they should take more thought to create an interest to themselves in this or that county or borough, than to promote the real interest of their country?

Whether some way might not be found for making criminals useful in public works, instead of sending them either to America, or the other world?

Whether, as our exports are lessened, we ought not to lessen our imports? And whether these will not be lessened as our demands, and these as our wants, and these as our customs or fashions? Of how great consequence are our fashions, therefore, to the public?

Whether a woman of Fashion ought not, therefore, to be declared a public enemy?

Whether our peers and gentlemen are born legislators? or, Whether that faculty be acquired by study and reflection?

Whether a wise state hath any interest nearer at heart than the education of youth?

Whether the gentleman of estate hath a right to be idle? and, Whether he ought not to be the great promoter and director of industry, among his neighbours?

Whether, if women had no portions, we should then see so many unhappy and unfruitful marriages?

Whether the credit of the public funds be not a mine of gold to England? and, Whether

any

any step that should lessen this credit, ought not to be dreaded ?

Whether it would not be better for this island, if all the fine folk of both sexes were shipped off to remain in foreign countries, rather than that they should spend their estates at home in foreign luxury, and spread the contagion thereof through their native land ?

What right an eldest son hath to the worst education ?

What folly it is to build fine houses, or establish lucrative posts and large incomes, under the notion of providing for the poor ?

Whether he who is chained in a gaol or dungeon, hath not, for the time, lost his liberty ; and, if so, whether temporal slavery be not already admitted among us ?

Whether fools do not make fashions, and wise men follow them ?

Whether it would not be an horrible thing to see our matrons make dress and play their chief concern ?

Whether faculties are not enlarged and improved by exercise ?

These queries made a vast noise in the kingdom which gave them birth, and for which they were designed. They were read, approved for the most part, and forgotten. He still, however, retained his love of mankind, and studied every method to make them better, or more happy.

His

His treatise on Tar-water rendered him more popular than any of his preceding productions, at the same time that it was the most whimsical of them all. Here he pretends to prove, a priori, the effects of this, sometimes, valuable medicine; but then he extends them to every, and even opposite, disorders; as, to use his own similitude, warm water will at once make hot water more cold, and cold water more warm. However, this treatise introduced a new fashion into the medicinal regimen, and almost every creature began to drink tar-water, until time had discovered its inefficacy.

The public were long undeceived, before his lordship, who was the inventor, could be so. He had built an hospital, at his own expence, near his gate, and to it all the poor were welcome; he attended them himself as physician, dosed them with tar-water, of the virtues of which he was entirely confident; and took as much pains with the poorest creature in his hospital, as the very nurse whom he had placed as an attendant.

His intention in this particular cannot be sufficiently applauded, though, perhaps, the success might not have answered his expectations. Perhaps he carried his veneration for tar-water to an excess; he drank it in abundance himself, and attempted to mend the constitutions of his children by the same regimen;

gimen: this, however, he could never effect; and perhaps his desire of improving their health, and their understanding, at which he laboured most assiduously, might have impaired both. But his faults, if we know of any, all proceeded from motives of humanity, benevolence, and good-nature.

He preserved the closest intimacy with the gentlemen of the neighbourhood; and, while he cultivated the duties of his station, he was not unmindful of the innocent amusements of life: music he was particularly fond of, and always kept one or two exquisite performers to amuse his hours of leisure.

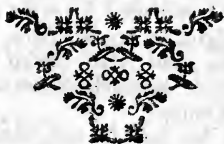
His income he was entirely contented with, and, when once offered a bishopric much more beneficial than that he possessed, he declined it, with these words, "I love the neighbours, and they love me; why, then, should I begin, in my old days, to form new connections, and tear myself from those friends, whose kindness to me is the greatest happiness I enjoy."

Finding his health and constitution impaired beyond the power of medicine, or his own tar-water, to restore, he removed to Oxford; an university he always loved, and at which he received a great part of his education.

After a short passage, and a very pleasant journey, he arrived at this famous seat of learning; here he was visited by many of his former

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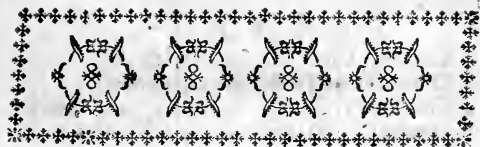
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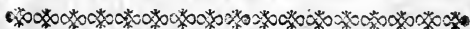
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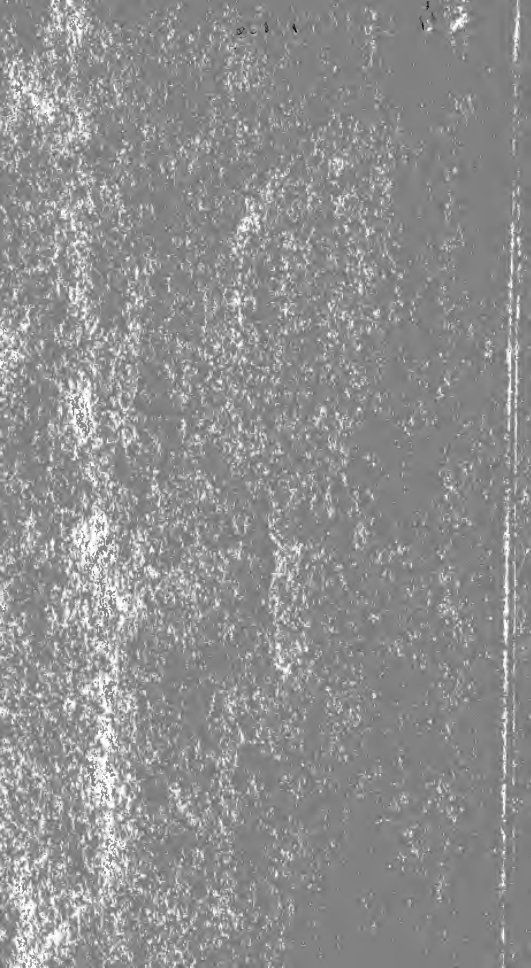
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